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INTERNATIONAL

STRENGTHENING OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES SOLIDARITY CONTINUES

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNNYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 1, Jan 80 signed to press 14 Jan 80 pp 3-13

[Article by Yu. Novopashin: "Strengthening the Solidarity of the Socialist Countries--A Major Direction in CPSU Foreign Policy"]

[Text] Our age is an age of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world-wide scale. "The main content, the main direction and the main particular features in the historical development of mankind," states the CPSU Program, "are determined by the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism and for the socialist transformation of society."¹

In the "Manifesto of the Communist Party," K. Marx and F. Engels wrote more than 130 years ago: "A specter is roaming through Europe, the specter of communism.... Communism is already recognized as a force by all European forces."² At that time it was a question merely of the ideas of scientific socialism which had begun to be embodied in a sociopolitical movement for the social liberation of mankind. In October 1917, these ideas gained convincing affirmation in the actuality of the revolutionary transformation of the former Russian Empire, in being fertilized by the great ideas of Lenin. Under the leadership of Lenin's party, construction commenced on the world's first worker and peasant state.

The subsequent course of history and the most profound changes which have fundamentally altered the appearance of the modern world have brought ever-new proof of the correctness and unshakable strength of Lenin's ideas. "Under the banner of Leninism," the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the 110th Birthday of V. I. Lenin" points out, "socialist revolutions have been victorious in a number of European, Asian and Latin American countries. The world socialist commonwealth united on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism is in the vanguard of social progress, and is the most dynamic economic and political force, and the bulwark of the peace and security of peoples. Life has affirmed Lenin's prediction of a diversity of forms and methods in socialist construction in different countries on the basis of common patterns of the rise and development of socialism."

At present socialist relations between individuals and entire peoples, as established as a result of the overthrow of exploiting classes and private ownership of the means of production, exist and are developing not only as a new social system in one or another individual country, but also as a world socialist system. The rise and development of this system is the most important of the historical consequences of Great October.

The growth of the might of the socialist countries and the change in the balance of forces between the two world socioeconomic systems--socialism and capitalism--have had a decisive impact on the entire revolutionary process and on the course of the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

The existence of world socialism in a tangible and constant manner tells on the balance of class forces both within the individual states and on the international arena. The positions of any detachment of the communist and workers movement undoubtedly are strengthened as real socialism becomes stronger. At the same time, the balance of class forces in the modern world has given the young states and the national liberation movement an opportunity to successfully resist the intrigues of imperialism and to achieve true independence and equal rights.

The socialist states consider it their primary international duty to side with the revolutionary, liberation movement. "Faithful to the Leninist principles of foreign policy," commented L. I. Brezhnev, "the Soviet Union pays particular significance to the development and strengthening of relations with those countries which, like us, support the ideals of freedom, independence and peace, and reject any manifestations of hegemonism. Particularly close to us are the countries which are not only our allies in the struggle against imperialism and in the struggle for peace, but also like-thinkers who have set as their goal the building of a society which is free from exploitation of man by man. These countries have no more faithful and reliable friends than the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist commonwealth."³

The change in the balance of forces between socialism and capitalism has been the chief factor in the reshaping of the system of international relations which has occurred in recent years, it has opened up real possibilities for its positive and democratic development, it has created conditions for improving the international political climate, and has made it possible to implement a transition from the Cold War to a lessening of tension and to the strengthening of peaceful coexistence.

The fact that mankind for more than 30 years has not known a world war, the fact that imperialism has been defeated in the local wars it has caused, and the fact that the forces of imperialist revanchism have not been able to turn back the processes of social and national liberation--all of this mankind owes primarily to the countries of real socialism and to their enterprising, stable and principled foreign policy.

The growth of the might of the fraternal socialist countries is inseparable from the strengthening of friendship and the deepening of cooperation between them. "The successes of socialism, its impact on the course of world events, and the effectiveness of its struggle against imperialist aggression" comments the document of the International Conference of Communist and Workers Parties in 1969, "to a significant degree depend upon the solidarity of the socialist countries. The unity of actions of the socialist countries is an important factor in the uniting of all anti-imperialist forces."⁴

This is why the CPSU and the Soviet state constantly consider as one of the cardinal tasks of their foreign policy the struggle for further strengthening the unity of the socialist countries, their friendship and cooperation, the coordinating of actions by these countries and aimed at accelerating the construction of socialism and communism, the encouraging of revolutionary changes and social progress throughout the world, and the creating of conditions for long-term and beneficial cooperation between peoples.

Our party links primarily the development of international and interstate relations characteristic for the socialist commonwealth precisely to the strengthening of the friendship and cooperation among the countries of the world socialist system.

"The socialist commonwealth," said L. I. Brezhnev, "is a completely new type of alliance. It is based not merely on a commonness of state interests for a group of countries, but represents a fraternal family of peoples led by Marxist-Leninist parties and united by a common ideology, by common high goals and by relationships of comradely solidarity and mutual support. This is an alliance which is based on a permanent unity of positions and actions, and this provides additional strength to each of its members for carrying out national tasks, and greatly increases their aggregate weight and influence on world affairs.... We consider it our duty to do everything within our power to make the socialist community stronger and flourish."⁵

In conducting a consistent policy of the all-round strengthening of such an unprecedented alliance of free peoples which the socialist commonwealth is, the Leninist party is aware that this is a protracted and diverse creative process. It is complicated by the very fact that fundamentally new ways of international relations are being established which are unknown by previous history as well as by the fact that a large burden of various carry-overs must be surmounted remaining in the awareness of people as heritage from the overthrown exploiting system. Much strength, patience and circumspection are required in order, in being guided by the great Leninist ideas, to gradually create new relations between the peoples who have set out on the path of socialism.

The social uniformity of the nations which have carried out a socialist revolution and the coinciding of their fundamental, class interests in the struggle against imperialism and for socialism and communism inevitably

give rise to their international interdependence, and above all a need for complete integration and equal fraternal cooperation in the economic and other spheres of social life. This need is of an objective nature, and has arisen as a consequence of the establishing of a new socioeconomic system which has an international essence.

The interstate and international independence of the socialist countries creates a real opportunity for them to function as a definite international whole which objectively opposes the capitalist world and the old forms of intercourse between nations and states. It goes without saying that the turning of this possibility into a reality has not occurred spontaneously. The given process requires aware activities by the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties and daily purposeful efforts by the corresponding state bodies, the production collectives, the mass social organizations of the working class, the peasantry and the people's intelligentsia. In this is the dialectical unity of the objective and subjective factors in the development of the world socialist system.

As the experience of recent decades shows, world socialism has been confronted with a situation brought about by the chauvinistic, hegemonic course of the Beijing leaders. In essence this has meant a complete rupture with Marxism-Leninism, the siding with the strategy, and in many instances, the tactics of imperialism, the trampling of the vital interests of the Chinese people and a sharp confrontation with the states of the socialist commonwealth.

The CPSU and the Soviet government have repeatedly stressed that they have conducted, are conducting and will continue to conduct an uncompromising struggle against the Maoist distortions of Marxism-Leninism, the subversive practices of Beijing in the socialist world, and its splitting, hegemonic policy which threatens the cause of peace and international security. This struggle is an inseparable component part of the foreign policy strategy of our party. The realization of this presupposes not only a deepening of all-round cooperation between the countries of the socialist commonwealth, but also a reinforcing of truly friendly ties between all socialist states, without exception. "This task," stressed L. I. Brezhnev, "...at the given time is not so simple and easy, but I feel that its enormous historic importance is clear to all."⁶

The scientifically sound, realistic approach to analyzing the current problems of world development and the unwavering loyalty of the USSR to the fundamental Marxist-Leninist bases of its foreign policy determine its readiness to improve international relations also with the PRC. In unmasking the reactionary essence of the great-power, hegemonic policy of Beijing, and in demonstrating the incompatibility of the ideology and practice of Maoism with scientific socialism, our party, at the same time, as was pointed out in the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the 110th Birthday of V. I. Lenin," "is firmly in favor of normalizing international relations, and for true good-neighborliness and mutually advantageous co-operation between the USSR and the PRC."

In its activities to strengthen friendship and cooperation among the socialist countries, the CPSU has given great attention to the fundamental principles which must contribute to a correct reconciling of national-state and international interests. Here there is and cannot be any automatic answer even in an instance when it is a question of reconciling interests which coincide in terms of their objective content. Each time there must be a professional, profoundly scientific concrete approach which alone is capable of eliminating the arising difficulties and problems, and a creative solution to the problems on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Quite understandably the presence of the state form of organizing the socialist nations over the extended period of the development and establishing of the new system on the world scene has naturally presupposed a need for the socialist states to be guided in their relationships by those standards which have developed during extended international intercourse as the initial and fundamental ones for any international cooperation and which are called general democratic ones.

These principles, as is known, have been given legislative force in the new USSR Constitution. "The relations of the USSR with other states," states Article 29, "are based on the observance of the principles of sovereign equality; mutual rejection of the use of force or the threat of force; the inviolability of frontiers; the territorial integrity of states; the peaceful settlement of disputes; nonintervention into internal affairs; the respect for human rights and basic freedoms; equality of rights and the right of peoples to control their destiny; cooperation between states; conscientious fulfillment of the obligations deriving from the generally recognized principles and standards of international law and from the international treaties concluded by the USSR."

On the other hand, the new type of international relations, as the relations of the proletariat organized as a state, naturally have incorporated the internationalist heritage of the world workers and communist movement, the strategic aim of which is to unite the efforts of the working class in different nations in the interests of the struggle against exploitation, for the ubiquitous and complete liberation of labor, for ultimately overcoming any exclusiveness and the all-round integration of free nations and peoples.

An expression of objective need for the new type of international relations is the principles of socialist internationalism (united actions and cooperation, mutual support and fraternal aid, and joint defense of the victories of socialism), as well as the principles which have been laid down in the Basic Law [Constitution] of our country. "The USSR, as a component part of the world socialist system and the socialist commonwealth," states Article 30, "develops and strengthens friendship and cooperation and comradely mutual aid with the socialist nations on the basis of the principle of socialist internationalism, and it actively participates in economic integration and in the international socialist division of labor." The unswerving following of these principles helps to strengthen unity, to

constantly bring the fraternal nations and peoples closer together, and to advance the world socialist system along the path of the natural transition to the even higher forms of international intercourse and cooperation.

Thus, the system of principles of the new type of relations has a complex nature and content. It organically brings together general democratic and internationalist elements. This is nothing more than a reflection of the real picture of the objectively necessary interaction and cooperation of the socialist countries, for principles, as F. Engels wrote, "are not applied to nature and to human history, but are rather abstracted from them. Nature and mankind do not conform to principles, but, conversely, the principles are valid only to the degree that they correspond to nature and to history."⁷

In working out and implementing its foreign policy, the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties have worked to make the general democratic and internationalist aspects closely related and interdependent. Only in the relationships of the socialist states which are internationalist by their very class essence can the general democratic principles acquire the maximally complete and totally unrestricted embodiment. The internationalist principles for this reason operate as the regulators of these relationships, and the socialist states are their principals.

Mutual adherence to the principles of equality and noninterference into the internal affairs of one another combined with an internationalist approach comprises the inexorable basis for the successful development of interstate relations of the socialist countries and for the strengthening of their friendship and cooperation. And our ideological opponents are endeavoring to shatter this basis. In making the CPSU and the Soviet state the main target of their attacks, and in placing false accusations of "dictatorship" vis-a-vis their socialist allies, they thereby endeavor in every possible way to impede a correct understanding by the broad masses of the true role of the USSR, its Marxist-Leninist party and Leninist foreign policy.

Under the leadership of the CPSU, our nation over six decades has turned from a one-time backward state into a leading socialist one. At present the USSR actually possesses unshakable social, economic and military might. But it unswervingly places its might in the service of the interests of peace and progress. It is an inexhaustible source of strength for the socialist states and all the friends of world socialism, and at the same time an effective factor in thwarting world reaction and preventing its aggressive intrigues. "Never has the Soviet Union which has provided decisive aid to our people made any demands whatsoever on us or posed any conditions, nor has it told us what we should do," said Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, from the rostrum of the 25th CPSU Congress. "Over the entire history of international relations which for millenia have been directed by egoism and force have there been such fraternal relations between a powerful country and a small country."⁸

The Leninist policy of the CPSU and the Soviet government is unwaveringly aimed at the complete and strict observance of the general democratic international legal principles and standards in relations with all states, and at the further development of the anti-imperialist, revolutionary movement on the basis of internationalist solidarity with this movement and the unity of all its detachments.

Over the almost three and a half decades that the socialist commonwealth has existed, enormous experience has been gained in the forming and strengthening of the new type of international relations. Actual practice indicates that in them there is a dominating trend toward the all-round integration of the commonwealth countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, on the basis of principles of equality and mutual respect. "Together with the flourishing of each socialist country and the strengthening of the sovereignty of the socialist states," states the Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 25th Party Congress, "their relationships are becoming closer and closer, and ever more elements of commonness are arising in their policy, economy and social life, and the development levels are gradually leveling out. This process of gradual integration of the socialist countries can quite definitely be seen as a regular pattern."⁹

Among the indicators showing the strengthening of friendship, cooperation and solidarity between the socialist countries, one can mention: the ties of the ruling communist and workers parties which are organic and which encompass the most diverse areas of the interaction of the states, and their international fraternity; the elimination of hegemonism, chauvinism and mutual mistrust, nationalistic exclusiveness, egotism and isolationism from the sphere of relations between the socialist states, that is, elements of international relations of the opposite system to socialism; the strengthening of comprehensiveness in solving major problems; intensification of not only interstate but also international relations in the direct sense of this word, in profoundly influencing all spheres of social life and substantially accelerating the international integration of the socialist countries; the continuous growth of integration processes in the socialist states, the presence of an effective interstate mechanism for managing these processes, and other such.

The tendency toward the gradual merging of the socialist states and to the continuous strengthening of their unity is most tangibly felt in the commonwealth of nations comprising CEMA and the Warsaw Pact Organization. Their bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the area of the economy, politics and ideology provides much substantiation of this.

In turning to the national economic sphere, it must be pointed out that the CEMA nations have developed planning forms and methods inherent only to socialism for interstate economic cooperation, and these have been tested out over a 30-year period.

From agreement on commodity deliveries under bilateral agreements to the coordinating of socioeconomic development plans, to consultation on the basic questions of economic policy and joint forecasting, to the compiling of the first coordinated plan for multilateral integration measures in 1976-1980 and, finally, to the approval of long-range specific cooperation programs in key production complexes--these are the basic markers in the on-going progress of a planned socialist economy on the international scene.

It must be emphasized that a crucial contribution to the development and deepening of this process has been made by the first and most powerful socialist nation, the USSR. In being constantly guided by the principle of socialist internationalism the USSR from the first postwar year has provided enormous selfless aid to the nations which have taken up the path of building a socialist society. The USSR made available to the People's Democracies its industrial and scientific-technical potential as well as a vast and stable market for the selling of their products. In keeping with the industrialization of the CEMA nations and the creation of new industrial sectors in them, the Soviet Union broadened deliveries of scarce raw materials, fuel and equipment to them. Due primarily to the specific efforts of the USSR, a high degree of self-sufficiency has been attained among the states of the socialist commonwealth. At present, from reciprocal trade they satisfy the basic portion of their import requirements for fuel, raw products and materials, machinery, equipment and consumer goods.

A rise in the proportional amount of reciprocal economic cooperation of the socialist states in the total volume of the foreign economic relations of each of them is a characteristic trait for the on-going deepening of economic ties within the socialist commonwealth. On this basis the Comprehensive program for socialist economic integration which is of such primary importance for the continuous development of world socialism, has been worked out and is being implemented.

The Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 25th Party Congress noted that this program "raises cooperation among the socialist countries to a much higher level than the simple development of trade. It means, for example, the joint tapping of natural resources for general use, the joint construction of large industrial complexes designed to satisfy the needs of all its participants, and cooperation planned for many years ahead between the enterprises and entire industrial sectors of our countries."

The long-term specific cooperation programs (LSCP) which were approved by the 32d and 33d CEMA sessions provide a notion of the present scale of economic interaction between the fraternal states and its prospects over the next two-three decades. In these programs it is a question of creating a sounder base to meet the needs of the nations of the socialist commonwealth for fuel, raw materials and energy, of pooling efforts in producing modern types of machinery and equipment, increasing the products of agriculture and the food industry, broadening the assortment and improving the quality of consumer goods, and accelerating the development of transport. The

socialist commonwealth is close to the point from which will start the intensive development of practical activities to implement the coordinated program.

The carrying out of even a portion of the measures provided for in the LCP (for example, in the area of machine building) will make it possible in the CMEA countries to increase the production of equipment for their own machine building needs by 2-fold in 1981-1985, and in the subsequent five-year plan, by 3-fold in comparison with the current five-year plan. The carrying out of the long-range specific programs will be closely coordinated with the fulfillment of the bilateral programs for production specialization and cooperation (subcontracting) up to 1990. The CMEA countries have begun working them out in accord with the agreements reached during the Crimean meetings (1979) of the leaders from the fraternal parties.

The carrying out of the LCP will provide an opportunity to increase significantly economic exchange between the CMEA countries. According to approximate estimates, capital investments totaling 70-90 billion transferable rubles are to be allocated for measures in the area of material production alone in the period 1981-1990. This is 2-3-fold more than the total required for building the projects provided in the Coordinated Plan for Multilateral Integration Measures in 1976-1980 and which was on the order of 9 billion transferable rubles.

CMEA practitioners have never known such amounts of cooperation in the sphere of investments and coordinating the national construction programs. Such a scale of economic interaction will not only mean new qualitative shifts in the integration of the national economic complexes, but undoubtedly will lead to a further strengthening of the international positions of the socialist commonwealth as a whole.

One must completely lose the elementary respect for real facts in order to state, as some professional anti-communists do, that there is "a growing economic separateness" of the fraternal countries,¹⁰ or that integration processes in the socialist commonwealth supposedly have a "cliquish political nature," while in the economy as a whole a "disintegration tendency" is supposedly operating.¹¹ What sort of "disintegration" is one describing when the two-way trade turnover of the CMEA countries which in 1970 was 4.6 billion rubles, in 1975, reached 153 billion rubles, increasing 22-fold? Initiatively it grew almost 3-fold faster than their national income, and twice as fast as their total industrial production. Is this not convincing proof of the continuous deepening of the process of the international socialist division of labor?

The implementing of the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration which started in the 1970's has given new powerful impetus to the internationalized process and accelerated it. Thus, while in the 1970's the average annual increase rates of two-way trade turnover between the CMEA countries was around 9.1 percent, during the first half of the 1970's, it

reached 16.2 percent, while their aggregate industrial production increased by an average of 9.7 percent annually in 1971-1975, while national income rose by 6.6 percent. The same picture is observed in the second half of the 1970's. While in 1976 the increase of national income in the CMEA countries, in comparison with 1975, was over 16 percent, and the increase of industrial production was over 18 percent, the two-way trade turnover rose by 44.9 percent.

The facts point to a deepening in the last decade of the deepening of the international socialist division of labor and a further development of the national economic interaction of the fraternal states. "Precisely in the 1970's," stressed L. I. Brezhnev in his greetings to the participants of the 2nd CMEA session, "the basic advantages of the international socialist division of labor have become particularly apparent. One can clearly see the social focus to the CMEA activities and the subordinating of the entire system of cooperation and mutual aid to the interests of the workers and to implementing the basic goal of socialism, raising the prosperity of the people."¹²

One of the most important features of the growing interaction between the socialist states is the coordinating of their foreign policies on a bilateral and multilateral basis. On this basis the USSR and the other fraternal nations have been able to make a decisive contribution to the strengthening of peace and international security, in repelling the forces of reaction, the supporters of Cold War methods, the initiators of "local" wars and "punitive" actions, and other actions inimical to peace.

In this regard the defense organization of the socialist countries, the Warsaw Pact, plays the primary role. Having arisen 25 years ago in response to the organizing of the aggressive North Atlantic Bloc and the admission of West Germany to it, the Warsaw Pact has consistently and efficiently co-ordinated the efforts of the socialist countries aimed at providing external conditions for building socialism and communism, and for defending peace and security in Europe. The concluding of bilateral treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual aid between the fraternal countries pursue the same aims.

As was stated by the participants of the 1973 Moscow Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact Member States, "they are convinced that under present-day conditions, when imperialism is continuing to conduct a policy of domination, suppression and inequality, particular significance is required by the establishing of a new type of international relations and the strengthening of unity and solidarity among the socialist countries. Precisely this path most successfully meets the interests of each people who are building a new society, the authority of socialism in the world grows constantly, and the role of the socialist countries is increased in encouraging the renewal of international life and the extending of detente and the strengthening of peace."

It is profoundly meaningful that precisely the nations of the socialist commonwealth initiated the convening of the historical forum, the European Security and Cooperation Conference. Precisely their purposeful efforts to a decisive degree provided for its building and successful conclusion. The Final Accord worked out by the conference established as standards of international intercourse those principles which the socialist states have unwaveringly defended and are defending.

The RPR and the other Warsaw Pact countries have offered the peoples an all-encompassing program of specific measures to achieve peace, security and cooperation in Europe. The importance of this program goes far beyond the continental limits. This program was formulated in the final documents of the superior forums of the Warsaw Pact, the conferences of the political consultative committee and the sessions of the Foreign Affairs Ministers Committee. Among the measures proposed by them are:

- 1) The concluding of a world-wide treaty on the repudiation of force in international relations, including a ban on the use of nuclear weapons;
- 2) The strict assumption of the obligation by all the member states of the European conference not to employ force or threaten force in relations with one another;
- 3) The concluding of a treaty on pre-emptive strikes by both nuclear and conventional weapons against each other;
- 4) The preparation and convening of a European-wide conference on a political level for military detente and disarmament in Europe;
- 5) The rejection of the NATO and Warsaw Pact states to extend the range of members in both alliances;
- 6) The reaching of agreement that the scale of military exercises in Europe should be restricted to a level of 40,000-50,000 men;
- 7) The extending of the measures of trust agreed upon at the European conference to the Mediterranean;
- 8) The strengthening of guarantees of security for non-nuclear states, including the promise not to employ nuclear weapons against states which do not possess such weapons and do not have them on their territory, and likewise the promise not to locate nuclear weapons on the territory of states where they presently are not found.

Certainly from just a list of these measures it is obvious that the implementing of them would mean substantial military detente in action, and above all on the continent which has been the cradle of the socialist commonwealth. But such detente would in no way be of regional importance, rather of world-wide significance.

A further program to materialize detente, to supplement it and reinforce it with measures in the military area is found in the proposals of L. I. Brezhnev of 6 November 1979. The core of this program is the complete clearing away of the ruins of hostility and alienation which have remained from the Cold War, and most importantly the approval of actually feasible and concrete disarmament measures. With the agreement of other Warsaw Pact members, the USSR has made a broad gesture of goodwill, having taken a decision to withdraw up to 20,000 Soviet servicemen, 1,000 tanks and a certain quantity of other military equipment from GDR territory. On 3 December, the first Soviet troop formations along with weapons and military equipment began to be withdrawn from the GDR lands to Soviet territory.

At a session of the Committee of Foreign Affairs Ministers of the Warsaw Pact States held in Berlin on 5-6 December 1979, its members reaffirmed and clearly formulated the proposals of the socialist countries which open up a real prospect of strengthening peace in Europe. They appealed to the governments of the NATO member nations to again--in light of the constructive and peace-loving steps of the Warsaw Pact states--to review the situation existing in Europe and not to undertake measures which would complicate the situation on the continent or would create an obstacle for immediate talks on questions relating to medium-range nuclear weapons, in accord with the proposals of L. I. Brezhnev.

However, the NATO leaders responded to the initiative of the socialist states with an increase in nuclear missile weapons, that is a very dangerous turn in the arms race. In spite of protests from the world community, at the December session of the Nato's council, under strong pressure from Washington and its closest partners, a decision was taken to produce and deploy new types of American medium-range nuclear missile systems in Western Europe. Clearly, such a decision undermines the very basis for reasonable talks, and is aimed at replacing them by talks "from a position of strength" for the West. And this, as is well known, is fundamentally unacceptable for the Warsaw Pact states.

Certainly, in the conditions which have arisen, the USSR and its allies, along with all the fighters for peace and detente, will do everything within their power to work even more effectively and energetically to reduce the arms race on the European continent and to consistently carry out the program for ensuring security and cooperation in Europe as outlined in the Final Accord of Helsinki.

Socialism and peace are inseparable, and this truth has been reaffirmed by the historic achievements of the socialist peace policy in the strengthening of European and international detente and in solving the urgent problems of disarmament.

The forms of cooperation worked out by the joint efforts of the fraternal parties and nations have withstood the test of life. The basic task today is to constantly improve the given forms, to enrich them, and at the same

the friendly, stable, fraternal cooperation and the progressive, pro-international, pro-socialist policy of the Soviet Socialist Republics of the USSR, is lending a powerful additional reserve for the further development of the rich wealth of fraternal socialist countries.

The consistent struggle of the socialist states for the strengthening of peace and for overcoming the Cold War and their support for the rights of peoples to free and independent development have contributed to the growth of the foreign policy activity and international authority of not only the socialist commonwealth as a whole, but also of each member state. This positive process which increases the maturity of the new type of international relations, at the same time increases the need for a systematic and frank discussion of the urgent problems of the socialist countries and the carrying out of coordinated actions on the international scene.

In the practice of the relationships of the socialist states, a whole series of forms and methods for coordinating joint actions and the overall political line has come into being and been tested. Contacts on all levels between the ruling communist and workers parties hold the most important place among them.

The Chinese position and the talks of L. I. Brezhnev with the leaders of the fraternal parties and countries have played a substantial role in working out common approaches to solving domestic and international problems. As for the meetings held in the summer of 1970, the CPSU Central Committee has emphasized that their particular significance "consists in the fact that long-range questions of determining significance for the long-range cooperation of the socialist states were at the center of their attention. This is all the more important as the communist and workers parties in the socialist part of the world are entering a pre-congress period, when the next major points will be set in building a new society."¹³

On the last issue, ideological cooperation among the socialist states has also translated. The 29th CPSU Congress and the congresses of the other Marxist-Leninist parties pointed out that this is directed not in the interests of the further creative development of the theory of scientific socialism and joint analysis of what the practice of building a new society provides.

It would be praiseworthy to give other examples of the strengthening of the friendly and cooperative of the socialist countries (illustrating the obvious truth that the world socialist system is continuously gaining strength), and the interaction of the fraternal states (growing year by year). At the same time, there can be no doubt that the problem of strengthening their unity and solidarity fully retains its importance. The conditions of the historical stage which can be living one are circumstances of friendly and cooperative among the socialist countries more necessary now than ever before. In carrying the most important actions to solving this problem, the CPSU and other fraternal parties have set the aim of achieving new successes in developing the socialist commonwealth and thereby contribute to the triumph of the cause of social progress and a sound, unshakeable peace.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Programma KPSS" [Program of the CPSU], Moscow, 1969, p 25.
2. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 4, p 423.
3. PRAVDA, 25 October 1979.
4. "Mezhdunarodnoye Soveshchaniye Kommunisticheskikh i Rabochikh Partiy. Dokumenty i Materialy. Moskva, 5-17 iyunya 1969 g." [International Conference of Communist and Workers Parties. Documents and Materials. Moscow, 5-17 June 1969], Moscow, 1969, p 304.
5. L. I. Brezhnev, "Mir Sotsializma--Torzhestvo Velikikh Idey" [The Socialist World--The Triumph of Great Ideas], Moscow, 1978, pp 508-509.
6. Itid., p 554.
7. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 20, p 34.
8. "Prvetstviya XXV S"yezdu KPSS ot Kommunisticheskikh, Rabochikh, Natsional'no-Demokraticeskikh i Sotsialisticheskikh Partiy" [Greetings to the 25th CPSU Congress from the Communist, Workers, National Democratic and Socialist Parties], Moscow, 1976, p 40.
9. "Materialy XXV S"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1976, p 6.
10. See N. Beloff, "Comecon Blues," FOREIGN POLICY, Summer 1978, p 159.
11. See "The Future of Inter-Bloc Relations," edited by L. Mersonides and J. Kuhlman, New York, 1975, p 162.
12. PRAVDA, 27 June 1979.
13. PRAVDA, 1 August 1979.

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INTERNATIONAL

REVIEW OF CURRENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

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[Article by V. Vladimirov, A. Lebedev, Yu. Oleshchuk and L. Teplov: "Current Problems of World Policy (10-September-10-December 1979)"]

[Text] On 7 November 1979, the USSR, the fraternal socialist states and all progressive mankind celebrated the 62d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The impact of this global historical event on all subsequent development of mankind is truly enormous. All contemporary world sociopolitical reality in one way or another bears the imprint of October. Its basic results are a developed socialist society built in the USSR, the establishment of a new order in a number of nations on three continents, and the formation and strengthening of the world socialist system.

One of the greatest achievements and results of October has been socialist foreign policy, a course of strengthening the unity and cooperation of the fraternal socialist states, the strengthening of friendship and solidarity with the liberated nations and with all the forces of democracy and progress, and the course of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems and the ensuring of international security.

In creatively developing the ideas of October and Marxist-Leninist teachings, the Soviet people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, are struggling for the noble goals of social progress and peace.

The broad masses of people throughout the world are preparing to celebrate the approaching glorious jubilee, the 110th birthday of V. I. Lenin. The decree of the CPSU Central Committee approved on this occasion emphasizes the greatest transforming role of Lenin's ideas and their permanent significance for the modern world. "Under the banner of Leninism, socialist revolutions have been victorious in a number of European, Asian and Latin American countries. The world socialist commonwealth, united on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, is in the vanguard of social progress, and is the most dynamic economic and political force, the bulwark of peace and security of peoples."

The Vanguard Force of the Modern World

The anniversary of October is a point which makes it possible particularly clearly to see and assess the achievements of socialism. At present our nation already is in the stage of creating the material and technical base of communism. The unflinching labor of the Soviet people over the 4 years of the current 10th Five-Year Plan has made a weighty contribution to carrying out this task.

Over the 4 years (in comparison with the corresponding period of the Ninth Five-Year Plan), the nation has produced 323 billion rubles more of national economy, and 600 billion rubles more of industrial product. Gross agricultural product has risen by more than 40 billion rubles.

The scope of the creative activities of the Soviet people is particularly apparent in the enormous scale of construction. Over the 4 years, capital investments into the national economy exceed 470 billion rubles. This has made it possible to substantially expand fixed productive capital. By the end of 1970, this was over 1 trillion rubles, and virtually one-third replaced, including 30 percent in industry, and 41 percent in agriculture.

The party's agrarian policy has been consistently carried out. The countryside has received 1.5 million tractors, 426,000 grain-harvesting combines, over 1 million trucks, 317 million tons of mineral fertilizers, more than 7 billion rubles worth of machinery for livestock raising and feed production. The pace of turning agriculture into a highly developed sector of the economy is convincingly seen from the fact that the capital-to-labor ratio has risen by 1.4-fold. The annual average gross grain harvest over the 4 years has risen to 209 million, and this is almost 27 million more than in the Ninth Five-Year Plan. Even during the last very difficult year for weather conditions, 179 million tons of grain were harvested.

The successes of the national economy have made it possible on a planned basis to implement the party's policy of solving the major social problems and raising the standard of living of the people. Here the most general indicator is the real per capita income which over the 4 years rose by over 13 percent. More money than was planned was spent on housing and sociocultural construction. The result of the 4 years was 423 million m² of housing. Many nurseries, schools, hospitals, clubs and libraries were built.

At the same time, not all the results of economic activities over the past 4 years were satisfactory. The main reason for the preservation of bottlenecks and shortcomings in the economy was that in the area of further raising production efficiency and work quality, it was not possible to achieve what was outlined in the plan quotas. Not all the ministries and departments were able to fully carry out the changeover toward raising quality and labor productivity and achieving better end results.

The Plenum of the CPbU Central Committee held on 27 November and the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 12th sitting of 28-30 November, examined the results of the 4th year of the 10th Five-Year Plan, and discussed and approved the USSR State Plan of Economic and Social Development and the 1980 USSR State Budget. The party focused the Soviet people on the struggle to achieve the set tasks and to overcome the existing shortcomings. In his speech, L. I. Brezhnev thoroughly analyzed the state of the national economy.

The Plenum Decree "On the Draft USSR State Plan of Economic and Social Development and the 1980 USSR State Budget" emphasizes the necessity of further dynamic and proportional development in social production, and the consistent implementing of a policy of increasing efficiency and work quality in all units of the national economy; there should be work on the further development of the fuel and raw material base and the other industrial sectors. The plenum urged that unflagging attention be paid to measures in the area of strengthening and expanding the material and technical base of agriculture and decisively improving the state of affairs in capital construction.

The work of the session contributed to the further development of socialist democracy. Laws were ratified on people's control, the Supreme Court, the USSR Prosecutor's Office, State Arbitration, and the legal profession; these helped to strengthen legality and law and order.

For the current, final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan, the task has been set of increasing the national income used for consumption and accumulation by 17 billion rubles, and to achieve an increase of 4.5 percent in the volume of industrial production. Here for the "A" and for the "B" groups in industry, the growth rates for product output will be the same, and this will make it possible to more fully satisfy the solvent demand of the public for consumer goods and the needs of the national economy for material resources, and to improve the structure of industrial production. The increase in gross agricultural product will be 8.8 percent. The total volume of capital investments into the national economy will reach 135.3 billion rubles. The rise in labor productivity in industry will be 3.8 percent, in construction 3.5 percent, in railroad transport 2.9 percent. The 1980 plan has been worked out considering the need to create favorable conditions for a successful start of the 11th Five-Year Plan. Measures have been outlined to accelerate the technical reequipping and strengthen the material base of key national economic sectors, and to improve proportionality in economic development. An entire complex of measures has been outlined to increase the efficiency of social production.

One is struck by the significant fact that according to the 1980 budget, defense expenditures are to be reduced. The corresponding allocation item will be 17.1 billion rubles in comparison with 17.2 billion rubles in 1979. Thus, the USSR, in fact and not in words, is demonstrating its support for the policy of lessening the arms race.

The fraternal states are building a new life shoulder to shoulder with the USSR. At present ten states in Europe, Asia and America, with a total population of 434 million persons, are members in the economic organization of the CEMA countries. Over the three decades, the share of CEMA in the production of world industrial product has risen from 18 percent to approximately one-third. Having repeatedly increased their economic potential, the CEMA member countries have assumed a prominent place in the ranks of the most developed industrial states of the world. At a whole for 1951-1975, the volume of industrial product in the fraternal states increased by 12-fold, that is, by an average of 9.2 percent annually. At present they produce 22 percent of the world production of electric power, 31 percent of the steel, and 41 percent of the coal.

In the future, there will be equally impressive achievements. The further development and deepening of socialist integration is to be the general route of their joint economic work. This route was reemphasized by the decisions of the jubilee 33d CEMA Session held in the summer of 1979. Specific plans were elaborated to carry out this task; these are the long-range specific cooperation programs. Around 100 multilateral and over 1,200 bilateral agreements have been concluded and are in effect in the area of production specialization and cooperation (subcontracting).

The 92d Session of the CEMA Executive Committee (16-18 October) focused on the questions of the practical realization of the decrees of the 33d CEMA Session. A list was approved of multilateral agreements and other measures which outline the implementation of long-range specific cooperation programs in the development of industry, agriculture and transportation. The state of affairs was discussed in preparing agreements on the development and deepening of production specialization and cooperation for tractors, agricultural machinery, various types of machine tools and other products. The Executive Committee instructed the CEMA bodies to work out measures to improve the technical level and quality of the products, as well as on a number of other questions. The carrying out of decisions related to joint construction of production projects in Vietnam was reviewed.

In a spirit of consistent socialist internationalism, the entire commonwealth is aiding this fraternal nation in overcoming the very severe heritage of the war, and to carry out the tasks of developing and strengthening the new order. As in previous years, the USSR has provided extensive aid to Vietnam. During the current five-year plan, with Soviet technical assistance, almost 100 different national economic projects have been built or are being designed. Trade between the two countries is broadening.

The all round progress of world socialism is presently occurring at such a pace that each, even historically short segment of time is marked by events which embody this ongoing movement. Previous months have not been an exception in this regard.

From 6 through 9 October, a Soviet party and governmental delegation headed by L. I. Brezhnev made a visit to the GDR. The delegation participated in

the jubilee ceremonies devoted to the 30th anniversary of the GDR. The visit developed into a stirring manifestation of the unshakable alliance and solidarity of the two fraternal parties and peoples following the same historical path shoulder to shoulder. The cordial welcome which was given by the GDR population to the high Soviet guests was a clear proof of the strength of the ties linking both countries.

Ever broader and more diverse cooperation is an inseparable trait in the relationships of the fraternal socialist countries and a law in their existence and development. Recently official visits were paid by a Bulgarian delegation headed by the First Secretary of the RCP Central Committee and Chairman of the Bulgarian State Council T. Zhivkov to Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos. A treaty on friendship and cooperation was signed between Bulgaria and Vietnam, a Bulgarian-Kampuchean joint declaration, a treaty of friendship and cooperation between Bulgaria and Laos, as well as agreements on individual areas of bilateral cooperation in different fields.

The questions of cooperation among the fraternal countries were discussed at regular plenums of the central committees of the MZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] and the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party]. The 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] held in November summed up the distance traveled by the country and outlined further tasks in the socioeconomic development of the nation. The report of the RCP Central Committee given by Comrade N. Ceausescu outlined the goals which should be reached by socialist Romania in the forthcoming 5 years and over the longer run. Participating in the work of the congress were foreign guests, including a delegation from the CPSU.

The results of development in the PRC are a striking contrast to the state of affairs in the socialist commonwealth. At the meeting held on 29 September in Beijing devoted to the 30th anniversary of this country, the deputy chairman of the CC Central Committee and Chairman of the Permanent Committee of the ACAPR [All-Chinese Assembly of National Representatives], Ye Jianying, had to make a number of bitter admissions. The previous period was characterized as years of "complex struggle" and "ziggzags and enormous victories." Since 1958, the "violation of objective laws" had been observed in the leadership of economic work, and mistakes had been made such as "blind commands" and "drives for inflated indicators." The speaker, in essence, concluded that the task posed at the end of 1964 by the Beijing leadership of turning China into a "powerful socialist state with a modern agriculture, modern industry, modern defense and modern science and technology" had not been carried out. The PRC, in the admission of Ye Jianying, "still remains comparatively backward in the area of the economy, technology and education." As for the plans for the future, as follows from the report, the Beijing leadership intends to follow the path of "four modernizations." Particular emphasis was put on "increasing defense might." In the sphere of international affairs, the appeal was voiced of "decisively carrying out the foreign policy line and precepts elaborated by Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai." The Maoist socioeconomic policy has brought and continues to bring many hardships to the Chinese people.

At the end of October, retail prices for basic food products were increased by an average of one-third in the PRC.

The recent events in Shanghai are an eloquent commentary on the results of the socioeconomic development of China. According to a statement of foreign information agencies, in the second half of November mass unrest among the population occurred there. The authorities even had to resort to such an extreme measure as bringing regular troop units into the city. Repression has intensified against those who dare to express dissatisfaction with their position. According to announcements in the press, the flood of refugees from the PRC is growing. Each day several hundred persons escape into Hong Kong alone.

In the Name of Peace and Disarmament

During the previous period the international situation has been complicated and contradictory, and the enemies of disarmament and detente have intensified their actions endeavoring to turn back the predominant trend in the 1970's in modern politics. The problem of the ratification of the SALT-2 Treaty remained acute. A predominant majority of the world's states has come out in favor of the treaty. Its importance as a major potential shift on the level of the further deepening and materialization of detente, the strengthening of peace and international security, has properly been assessed by the international community, including by many influential statesmen in the capitalist nations.

The discussion of the treaty in the U.S. Senate Foreign Affairs Committee disclosed the shaky positions of its opponents and the inconsistency and artificiality of their arguments. By a majority of votes of 9 to 6 the committee approved a decision to present the document for ratification by the Senate.

At the same time a new and very dangerous trend appeared. The militaristic, most aggressive circles of imperialism and NATO are obviously counting on "compensating" themselves by speeding up the arms race in other, related areas, in particular in the event of the ratification of the treaty.

Here a particular role is given to medium-range missiles around 600 of which are to be deployed in Western Europe. It is a question of the so-called Eurostrategic weapons aimed at the USSR and capable of reaching its interior areas. As was emphasized by the French newspaper L'CHO, behind the entire operation with the "Euromissiles" stand the forces of the military industrial complexes which are expecting unprecedented profits from this "fabulous deal of the century."

The danger of a new venture by the supporters of the arms race is perfectly apparent. In the event of its realization, it threatens to upset the existing approximate balance of forces in Europe, to destabilize the situation here, and thereby sharply increase the military threat, nullifying the successes achieved in ensuring European and international security.

Understandably, these plans have caused extreme concern among the peoples of Europe and the entire world.

Under the existing conditions, the new Soviet initiatives in the area of military detente on the European continent have assumed exceptionally important significance. These were proposed in the speech of L. I. Brezhnev in Berlin on 6 October. The USSR again has acted as the standard-bearer of peace and universal security, and has set the example of how one must fight decisively and effectively for this most important goal of mankind. The initiative of the Soviet Union excels in its scale, and includes real prospects for an effective shifting of the cause of political detente into the military sphere.

Suffice it to say, the USSR has proposed reducing the number of nuclear weapons on the European continent. "We are ready," stated L. I. Brezhnev, "to reduce, in comparison with the present level, the number of medium-range nuclear weapons deployed in the western regions of the USSR. But, of course, only in the instance that there will be no additional deployment of medium-range nuclear weapons in Western Europe." Moreover, the USSR proposed a significant broadening of confidence-building measures in the military area. This broadening of confidence-building measures consists in providing notification of major military exercises for ground forces not 21 days before, as is stipulated by the Helsinki Agreements, but rather over a longer time; and not from a level starting at 25,000 men, but rather from 20,000 men; also military exercises are not to be held involving more than 40,000-50,000 men. Here L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that the proposals of the socialist countries for providing notification of major air force exercises and naval maneuvers conducted close to the territorial waters of other member states of the European-wide conference are to remain in force. The new initiative provides for a preliminary announcement of the moving of ground forces of over 20,000 men within the zone defined by the provisions of the Final Accord of the Helsinki Conference.

In endeavoring to ensure a fundamental change in the solving of the urgent problems of disarmament and to break the stalemate in the Vienna talks, the USSR has announced its intention to undertake an unilateral reduction of its armed forces in Central Europe. "Over the next 12 months," stated L. I. Brezhnev, "up to 70,000 Soviet servicemen, a thousand tanks and also a certain quantity of other military equipment will be withdrawn from the territory of the GDR."

On 6 November, in his reply to a question posed by the PRAVDA correspondent, L. I. Brezhnev again affirmed the readiness of the USSR to reduce the number of medium-range nuclear weapons, and called for an immediate beginning to a solution of the question of these weapons, having started talks for this purpose. As for the place to discuss a broad range of measures relating to military detente and confidence-building measures, the USSR considers a general European conference on the political level to be the most suitable forum.

The new, far-reaching initiatives of the USSR have evoked enormous response throughout the world.

Many statesmen and mass information bodies in the Western countries recognized the construction nature of the Soviet proposals.

On the other hand, the enemies of detente have responded to the Soviet initiatives by a militant propaganda campaign, in spreading the myth of a "Soviet threat." Contrary to their own statements about an approximate military equality between NATO and the Warsaw Pact (such recognition only recently was made by J. Carter and C. Vance; this fact has been substantiated by the London International Institute for Strategic Research), the bosses of the North Atlantic bloc have unleashed against the Soviet Union absolutely groundless accusations of violating the existing parity. The smokescreen of lies was needed by the NATO leaders in order to force through the program of so-called nuclear missile "arming-up," in other words, to attempt to achieve military superiority, and then deal with the socialist commonwealth countries from a position of strength. The NATO Secretary General J. Luns, the English Prime Minister M. Thatcher and others have cynically announced these plans.

However, such a position has not only encountered resistance from the broad circles of the public throughout the world and above all the the NATO nations themselves, but has also caused serious hesitation and often outright arguments among many governmental leaders. After stormy debates, the Dutch Parliament by a majority of votes demanded that the government come out against the deployment of American missiles and to initially hold talks with the Warsaw Pact. An analogous position was taken by Denmark, Belgium and also Norway. Only with great difficulty was it possible to force through a decision favoring the NATO leaders in the Italian Parliament. For the first time the Vatican supported a viewpoint that ran counter to the position of Washington in military strategic questions.

The United States along with its West German and British allies had to put unprecedented pressure on the small partners in the bloc, threatening to revise, in particular, the economic obligations, if they did not demonstrate "Atlantic solidarity."

On 5-6 December in Berlin, a session was held of the Committee of Foreign Affairs Ministers of the Warsaw Pact States, and this reaffirmed the constructive positions aimed at lessening the arms race. Proposals were made on practical measures in the sphere of military detente, and a concrete plan was formulated for preparing and holding talks on these questions. Simultaneously the participants of the session stated that "the taking of the decision to produce and deploy in Western Europe the new types of American medium-range nuclear missiles and the carrying out of such a decision would destroy the basis for the talks."

The ruling circles of the United States and NATO, however, have refused a serious discussion of the initiatives of the socialist commonwealth. The

leading policy of the North Atlantic Pact which contained their positions. On 14 December approved a decision for producing and deploying 108 Pershing-2 missiles and 400 winged missiles in England, the FRG and Italy with the stipulation that Belgium and the Netherlands could join as soon as they were ready. Simultaneously the American president announced that in 1981, U.S. military expenditures would exceed 157 billion dollars, that is, 20 billion dollars more than the initially requested total, planning to channel these funds, in particular, into the production of new nuclear missile weapons systems, including the MX missile.

The promises of the NATO countries accompanying these militaristic decisions to enter into talks with the Warsaw Pact and "to make proposals on weapons control" appear nothing more than camouflage designed mainly to mitigate the imminent response of the world community. The position of the leading circles of the West assumed in response to the clearly expressed readiness of the USSR and its allies to take radical measures to prevent a new intensification of the arms race, is a challenge to the question of detente, and creates a serious threat to international security.

The Soviet initiatives at the 34th UN General Assembly Session (September-December 1979) were aimed at solving the most important problems of modern times, that is, the strengthening and extending of the process of detente and the halting of the arms race. Some 152 states participated in the work of this session.

The program of measures proposed by the USSR from the rostrum of the session was widely supported. Upon the initiative of the USSR, the General Assembly approved the Resolution "On Banning the Development and Production of New Types of Weapons of Mass Destruction and New Systems of Such Weapons" (in the voting only the NATO countries, Israel, Japan and a number of other U.S. allies abstained). At a plenary session, a resolution submitted by the USSR and the other socialist countries was also approved. This resolution proposed as a primary task the starting of talks on the question of reducing the nuclear weapons race with the participation of all states which possess nuclear weapons. US support was also given to the joint initiative of the USSR and a number of socialist and nonaligned nations to conclude an international convention on the strengthening of guarantees for the security of states which do not possess nuclear weapons. Again upon the proposal of the USSR, a resolution was approved which recommended "studying the opportunity to conclude an international agreement on the nondeployment of nuclear weapons on the territory of states where there are no such weapons at present." Also of important significance was the Assembly's approval of a declaration on international cooperation for the purposes of disarmament; this was worked out by the USSR delegation and supported by the other socialist and nonaligned nations.

From the USSR rostrum, the USSR stated that it was in favor of having the elaboration and implementing of measures in the area of halting nuclear weapons production occur in parallel with and in a direct relation to the strengthening of the political and international law guarantees for the

equality of states. The concluding of a world-wide treaty on the regulation of force in international relations would be a major measure in this direction.

Considering the entire international situation, of primary significance would also be the full elimination of any manifestations of a policy of hegemonism from the practices of international relations, that is, the desire of some states to dominate other states and peoples.

On 25 September 1979, the Soviet delegation came forward with an important initiative having proposed ratification of the Resolution "On the Inadmissibility of the Policy of Hegemonism in International Relations." This undoubtedly would contribute to a further improvement of the international climate and to the strengthening of the bases of universal peace.

The purpose of the Soviet proposal was that no states or groups of states, under any circumstances and for no reasons, could claim hegemony vis-a-vis other states or a group of states.

The Soviet initiative was received positively among the delegations participating in the work of the 34th UN General Assembly Session. The discussed question, said the Indian delegate Serap Singh, relates to the fundamental principles of the UN Charter, and equally to the principles and aims of the nonalignment movement. The President of Mexico Lopez Portillo urged the United Nations to strengthen its struggle against "political and economic hegemonism." In the words of the Ethiopian representative, the refusal to discuss hegemonism is tantamount to a refusal to hope for the building of a just world order on the basis of the equality of all peoples. By a majority of votes the General Assembly approved the resolution condemning hegemonism.

The urgency of the question of preventing hegemonism in international relations was convincingly demonstrated during the course of the recent trip by the premier of the PRC State Council, Hu Guofeng, through the nations of Western Europe: France, Italy, the FRG and England.

In setting off on a tour through the capitals of the four leading Western European states, the head of the Chinese government was pursuing aims hostile to peace and collaboration among peoples. In the course of the trip, Hu Guofeng attempted to convince his partners in the talks to speed up the process of further arming and on this grounds to reinforce the unity of the West. In all the countries in different variations he repeated the same thesis on the necessity of speeding up the arms race and intensifying military preparations in order, along with China, to counter the same notorious "Soviet threat." In hoping to strike an agreement with the most reactionary forces, Hu Guofeng supported the revisionist slogan of the reunification of Germany, in other words, he called for the elimination of the DDR. The Chinese premier showed unconditional support for the plan to produce and deploy in Western Europe new medium-range missiles, and stated that "the question is moving in the direction desired by China."

newspaper, representation of all the efforts of the Spanish leadership, and the Spanish Government, and their interpretation "Internationalism and solidarity of the anti-fascist countries." Spain is very welcome among the political parties and the anti-fascist leadership of the USSR, — said Uralov.

The visit of the member of the Politburo of the CCCP Central Committee and the USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs A. A. Gromyko to Spain and the US was an important step aimed at strengthening security and developing cooperation in Europe on the basis of mutual interests. A. A. Gromyko was in the US from 10-19 March. Seventeen days was received by the King Juan Carlos and the chairman of the government A. Pinochet (General), and held talks with the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs M. Gómez Alcántara.

The party expressed satisfaction with the progress made in the development of Soviet-Spanish relations, and they signed a number of documents on cultural and scientific cooperation between the USSR and Spain. In the course of the exchange of opinions, the importance of the Helsinki Final Act was emphasized. Particular attention was given to the questions related to the preparation for and holding in Madrid 10-11 of the next meeting of representatives from the states participating in the European Security and Cooperation Conference.

On 11 March, A. Gromyko made an official visit to the US. A. Gromyko was received by the Federal Secretary S. Carter and the US Vice-President R. A. M. A number of meetings was also held with the US Minister of Foreign Affairs C. Haig.

In his talk an important role was given to the question of NATO plans to build an independent strategic nuclear missile in Western Europe. The Soviet Ambassador A. Gromyko clearly, temperately and directly stated to talk for the purpose of clarifying the question related to the nuclear missile potential of the US and the USSR. However, contrary to demands of the US, the government of the Federal Republic, while in principle favoring such a plan, insisted that they could be told only after a deal on further cuts in NATO to reduce the total number of all the weapons.

After a number of discussions on clarifying the Soviet position on the assessment of present and future US strategic nuclear weapons, a communiqué was adopted by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, members of the Soviet and US delegations, the chairman of the USSR Central Committee, and members of the CCCP Central Committee, by a plenary.

On 11-12 March, Soviet leader and the USSR Vice-Chairman of Council of the USSR, Minister and Foreign Minister of the government of Spain, the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, and a high political level. This was the first visit to the plenary of the representatives of the two countries to the end of the USSR delegation to the Soviet Union. The parties fully agreed that Soviet-Spanish relations which stated their support for the principles of peace, the non-nuclear and defense, and they planned to conduct further practical work to improve cooperation between the two countries in various areas.

In the past century, several European Agreements were signed in Geneva. In September 1970, in Geneva talks were held between CMEA and the delegations for the purpose of reaching agreement on the principles for relations between CMEA and the CMEA member nations on the one hand, and the EC and the EEC member nations on the other.

A new step on the level of the practical implementation of the Geneva Agreements was the successful holding in Geneva in the middle of November of a high-level general European conference on the protection of the environment; this was convened upon Soviet initiative.

Thus, the previous period has clearly demonstrated that there are the broadest opportunities for strengthening the already achieved progress in the area of detente and extending mutually advantageous cooperation. At the same time, it again demonstrated that the decisive factor in further progressing along this path is the approval of immediate effective measures to restrain the arms race, not above nuclear arms, and the beginning of their actual reduction.

The Capitalist World: A Picture in Profile

The capitalist nations completed 1970 in a situation of an increasingly clearly expressed economic decline. The position which the official financial circles took so profound that the trend of already dominant since the early 1970's the Great Depression of 1929-1933, and the socialist developing nations of the West, one can see even more clearly. Not only in a decline in the growth rate of industrial production. This is followed, all the more painful for the economy as it is occurring against a background of the still unmeasured consequences of the crisis of 1968-1970. In other words, this is the situation has not even reflected the most "fateful" effects of crisis in the form of a phase of balanced growth.

In the United States, even in the first quarter, the growth of industrial output actually halted, and in the second its volume even decreased by 1 percent. In the middle of September, the level of new construction of non-residential buildings was 10 percent below the level of the same period in 1969. While in the 3rd quarter of 1970, the decrease in industrial production (in comparison with the previous quarter) was 1 percent, during the first 3 months of 1971 it was 1.5 percent, and in the 3d quarter 2 percent. In France, industrial production in the 1st quarter of 1971 rose by 2.4 percent, in the following quarter by just 0.2 percent, and by the middle of year 1971 by 0.7 percent. In a word, according to the estimate for the 5 months, the growth rate of the GNP in the developed capitalist countries slowed down (in annual terms) to 1 percent (in 1970, it was 2.7 percent).

The indicators for the work load again turned downward. In the middle of the year, in the capitalist world, enormous capacity, more than 9 percent of industrial production (excluding steel) is stood idle. In the highly developed nations of the West, inflation has been in crisis. Inflation is

"scrapings," particularly in the retail industry, with retail prices rising by 1.7 percent in 1979, by 2.9 percent in 1980, and by 3.6 percent in the first half of 1981. A particularly feature of the economic picture at present is the simultaneous development of inflation and mass unemployment (so-called "stagflation"). According to the estimate of the UN, the number of officially recorded fully unemployed (and not known, nor all persons out of work registered) in the industrialized developed capitalist states at the end of 1979 and the beginning of 1980 exceeded 17 million persons, and will rise further in 1980. According to the figures of the UN, according to the figure of 1980, unemployment in the United States will be 8 percent of the entire labor force, that is, exceed the figure of 1979. In western Europe in 1980, the army of unemployed is at the level of 10.5 percent.

the economic and social difficulties are being exacerbated by militarization. It is generally recognized that the most rapid increase in military spending has contributed to inflation, unemployment, and to a deepening of the economic crisis in the national economic sphere. According to the latest available statistics, approximately 100 billion spent on military purposes in the period 1961-1970, of which 50 billion which could have been invested in the economy, would have been spent on the production of armaments, aircraft, and other military equipment. The increase of 13 billion rubles in the total military budget for military equipment from 1970 to 1971 is an especially bad appearance of only 15 billion rubles, which is 10% of the annual budget with an additional 10% increase of 1972-1973, which is 15% of the budget of 1971. The economic crisis and the economic polarization of the West is of the trend of intensifying and deepening polarization of the economy. Capitalist production has caused a growing polarization of society in a pattern of areas of economy and industry.

gold rose. The "gold madness," stated the American financial specialist G. Kauffman, "is a vote of no-confidence for the existing financial and economic system."

In the aim of stabilizing the dollar, Washington has also increased the bank discount rate. However this measure did not help. "The stock exchange has been engulfed in panic because of the record-high interest rates and the record-weak confidence in the leading role of America," stated the vice president of Dean, Witter, Reynolds, Inc., R. Stovall.

Nor could any real means for combating the devaluation of the Western currencies be proposed by the "financial wizards" who assembled in October at a session of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The IMF director de Laroussier stated that the basic recommendations were to accept harsher anti-inflation measures such as placing limits on credit, the "freezing" of wages, and a reduction in state expenditures. Even bourgeois economists recognize that the result will be a further deterioration of the position of the workers. The recently introduced European monetary system has not mitigated the financial and monetary problems, but on the contrary, it has helped to increase the tension between the United States and Western Europe in this area.

The social and political contradictions of capitalism are assuming an even more profound nature. The front of class collisions is broadening, and their distinguishing feature is that the most diverse strata of the workers are being ever more actively involved in the struggle against the ruling classes. The strike movement has assumed gigantic scope. Over the first 10 months of last year alone, the number of workers involved in strikes according to estimates reached 48-49 million persons.

In the United States, a major strike ended in autumn by the employees of the monopoly Westinghouse Electric, during which for the first time in 25 years operations were shut down at all of its 93 enterprises. The strikers gained satisfaction of their basic demands. In September the personnel of the Rock Island Railroad halted work, and this paralyzed freight shipments in 13 states. Some 50,000 school teachers struck in 18 states.

Major clashes between labor and capital also occurred in England. The machine builders, metallurgical workers and shipbuilders conducted 9 general one- and two-day strikes involving up to 2 million persons at the same time. In Italy, in September, there was a strike by state officials involving 3 million persons. The Fiat workers and airline employees also struck. In France, in August, there was a 48-hour strike by railroad workers, and in September the workers of the electric power and gas industries clashed with the employers. In Japan, in August, port workers throughout the nation left their jobs.

The growing social tension has led to an ever-greater intensity of the political struggle in the capitalist countries. In the United States, during the present autumn is the threshold of the 1980 presidential election campaign. Judging from its initial stage, there will be sharp clashes.

A large number of pretenders for the title of presidential candidate has appeared in the ranks of both basic bourgeois parties, Democratic and Republican. And while for the opposition (in the given instance, the Republicans) the abundance of candidates is traditional, the ruling party, as a rule, rallies around its president. But this time, however, the Democratic camp has been split from the very outset. Along with J. Carter, Senator E. Kennedy and the California governor J. Brown plan to fight for the nomination (the selection of the candidate). Among the Republicans, the basic pretender as yet is considered to be the former governor of California R. Reagan, and former director of the CIA G. Bush, and the leader of the Senate Republicans H. Baker. The pre-election campaign is starting off in a situation of severe internal complications, primarily economic ones. The hopes for an improvement in the economic situation and a reduction in inflation and unemployment which just 6 months or a year ago were rather widely predicted in the United States, have been shattered in the autumn of 1979. A characteristic trait of the situation is that the rightist forces are endeavoring to gain political capital in the new wave of difficulties.

In England, the policy of the government has contributed largely to the growing complication of the situation. The Conservative Cabinet of M. Thatcher has begun to move along the path which it has proclaimed, that is, reducing expenditures on social needs, restricting the rights of trade unions, denationalization, and hardening the policy toward the "colored." At the Tory conference held in October in Blackpool, a number of resolutions were approved showing that the Cabinet intends to act further in this spirit. The reply of the workers has been a new upsurge in the struggle for their rights. This mood was strongly felt at the meeting of the British Trade Union Congress which was held in September. The general secretary of the largest association of transport and unskilled workers M. Evans cautioned: "It would be unwise to assume that the continuing provocation (of the government, authors) against the trade unions will not encounter a proper response from them."

In recent months the domestic political situation in Japan has become tense. At the beginning of October, general elections were held for the lower house of the Parliament. The ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) tried to recover personal control of the nation's highest legislative body. The opposition, primarily the leftist parties (communists and socialists), endeavored to thwart the plan of the LDP leaders and to extend their representation in Parliament. The LDP for attaining the set goal had to elect 271 deputies to the chamber. However, it received 248 seats (less than in the previous elections), and not only could not secure a "stable majority" for itself, but did not even win one-half of the parliamentary seats (there are 511 deputies in the lower house). Only by quickly joining with a group of "independents" deputies could the LDP achieve a majority of 258 seats.

On the other hand, the Japanese Communist Party achieved a noticeable success. It presently holds 29 seats in the lower house, or over 2-fold more than before the elections. Particularly importantly, the communists won in

the major industrial centers of the country, Tokyo and Osaka. The positions of the socialists have been somewhat weakened, and instead of the previous 115 seats, they now have 106.

The difficult situation in which the LDP found itself caused sharp clashes in its leadership. The newspaper YOMIURI, in describing the situation, wrote about a new stage of political crisis in the party. In truth, the former premier Ohira, after almost a month of clashes, succeeded in keeping his office, but such prominent LDP leaders as Fukuda, Miki and Sakasone have refused to join his cabinet, thereby expressing disapproval of his policy.

Instability and tension are the basic traits of the situation in Italy. The government of F. Cossiga, deprived of support from the leftist parties, in the unanimous opinion of observers, will not be able to hold out long. The Italian Communist Party is increasing its activities. It is leading the workers to struggle against higher prices, for solving the housing problem, and approval of a just pension law. Among the demands of the PCI are: a democratic reform of higher education, the police and state institutions. The party has raised the slogan of creating a government of national unity with the participation of both communists and socialists. In the ranks of the latter there is growing support for the idea of collaboration among the leftist forces, and both parties have begun talks on co-ordinating actions.

Over the last 2 years, the history of Portugal has been a series of governmental crises. There is one reason for the instability of the changing cabinets. They have all carried out a policy ignoring the position of the leftist forces and the demands of the broad masses. Because of this, neither the "monochrome" government of socialists, neither coalition cabinets of socialists and rightists nor "nonparty" governmental formations have been able to remain in power for any extended time. In September, after the failure of the government of M. Pinto which had carried out a frankly antipopular course, President R. Eanes called for the dissolution of Parliament and the holding of early elections. Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo was appointed premier for the term remaining until the elections. The elections held at the beginning of December produced the following results: the Union for the Unity of the People (the communists and the Portuguese Democratic Movement Party) received 47 seats, while in the previous elections the CP which had participated by itself, had 40 seats. The representation of socialists declined seriously (73 seats instead of 107). The bloc of the three ruling parties received 125 seats.

During the past months, political life in Spain has been marked by attacks by the fascist elements and by attempts of the ultrareactionary forces using terror and intimidation to regain their lost positions. The demands for the national autonomy of the Basques and Catalonians have assumed a most acute nature. The government was forced to work out draft laws for granting autonomy to those regions where the national question was particularly acute, that is, the land of the Basques and Catalonia. At the end of

October, the draft laws were submitted to a referendum which indicated that 70 percent of the Basques and 65 percent of the Catalonians approved the proposed drafts.

The outcome of the referendum was a blow against the rightist forces who were against autonomy, and also against the nationalistic organizations of Erii Batuauna and ETA which called for a boycott of the referendum. Having been defeated, the rightist and leftist extremists endeavor to resort to violence. In the Basque provinces of Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa, terroristic actions became more frequent, and around 10 persons were killed. The ultrarightists and the ultraleftists wanted thereby to provoke the military to intervene into political life, however, the firm position of the progressive forces and all the democratic public led to a situation where the provocative plans were thwarted.

In the sphere of interimperialist relations, with the presence of certain centripetal tendencies, active centrifugal processes have developed. The attempts to coordinate efforts in the search for ways to settle at least some of the most acute problems have constantly foundered on an insurmountable barrier of interimperialist contradictions.

This is apparent both in the NATO system and in the EEC, as well as in the other intergovernmental institutions created by imperialism. The report prepared by the English Conservative, Lord Fyon, for a session of parliamentarians of the North Atlantic Pact in Ottawa (October), contained a warning that internal economic and other conflicts could undermine the stability of NATO. The author emphasized that "the clashes of economic interests within the Atlantic Organization can play a dangerous role in the political area. If it is considered that the possibilities of a clash of interests (among the member nations of this bloc, author) are becoming so numerous, then the differences of opinion can also be as frequent and as profound."

Almost every international meeting of the capitalist countries over the last 3 months convened for working out mutually acceptable decisions turned into an arena of clashes.

In the autumn, meetings were held in Paris for the representatives of the Big Seven of the capitalist states (the United States, FRG, Canada, Japan, Great Britain, France and Italy), and then the Big Five (the same, without Canada and Italy). The most vital problems were discussed such as the monetary crisis, the growth of inflation and the energy crisis. However, as the press announced, no way out of the situation was found.

The differences have remained. This was how the press viewed the results of the meeting held in November between the French President V. Giscard d'Estaing and the English Prime Minister M. Thatcher. The latter told her partner in the talks of London's arguments against the amount of the English contributions to the European Economic Community (at the present time direct payments by London to the EEC budget will reach almost 1 billion pounds

storing). "An agreement to disagree" was the name given on both sides of the Channel to what was "reached" in these talks. In England itself, passions became seriously heated. A number of Conservatives declared that the nation should withdraw from the EEC, and White Hall was demanding "a radical revision of the current system of compulsory financial deductions to the Community's fund."

No way out of the impasse was found either at the session of the European Council of the Common Market Countries in Dublin (29-30 November). M. Thatcher again categorically demanded that English contributions to the EEC be reduced. In response there were sharp accusations leveled against the economic policy of London. According to press releases, the sessions turned into a real squabble. As a result the English delegation returned empty-handed from Dublin.

The events of the past period again show that it is beyond the capacities of imperialism to find a way out of the maze of difficulties.

In the Current of Antiimperialism and Antihegemonism

The antiimperialist liberation struggle of the peoples in the developing countries, in presently encompassing around one-half of the world's population, has recently assumed an ever more acute nature. In it one can clearly trace the desire of the peoples in the young states for true and complete independence, for eliminating all the vestiges of colonial suppression and the new forms of imperialist exploitation, as well as for participation in all international affairs on a just and equal basis.

A truly outstanding event of recent times was the Sixth Conference of Non-aligned Countries held in Havana at the beginning of September. It marked a new point in the history of the nonalignment movement which, in the words of L. I. Brezhnev has become "an influential factor of world politics." A vivid demonstration of the ever-growing importance of this movement on the international scene was the speech by the conference chairman, the Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro at the 34th General Assembly Session. He called "for an end to the tarnishing of weapons and threats, and to the desire to prevail on the international scene."

The situation in the Near East has remained tense. The regular meeting between the Egyptian President Sadat and the Israeli Premier M. Begin marked a new act of surrender by Sadat. In the course of the talks in the city of Haifa, A. Sadat agreed to the Israeli notion of the "indivisibility of Jerusalem," and this meant a new blow against the vital interests of the Arabs and against their legitimate demands for the return of the eastern part of Jerusalem. Sadat promised to supply Tel Aviv with petroleum produced on the Sinai Peninsula. That treacherous action by the Egyptian president evoked a new outburst of indignation in the Arab countries and intensified the isolation of the Cairo regime.

The consistent peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries opposes the aggressive policy of the United States and Israel in the Near East. The USSR and its allies support the just struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialism and its supporters, and are in favor of peace and social progress.

Proof of the growing relations between the Soviet people and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY) was the visit to this nation by the member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers A. N. Kosygin (16-17 September). Soon thereafter a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and the PDRY reinforced the high level of relations between the two countries. It was concluded on 24 October during a visit to the USSR by the General Secretary of the Yemen Socialist Party and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council of the PDRY, A. F. Isma'il.

In the treaty both parties declared their determination to strengthen the unshakable friendship between them, and to constantly develop political relations and bilateral cooperation on the basis of equality, respect for territorial sovereignty, territorial integrity and noninterference into the internal affairs of one another. The treaty points out that mutually advantageous cooperation will be developed in the economic, scientific-technical, cultural as well as in the military areas. In the event of the occurrence of situations which create a threat to peace, provision is made for a coordinating of the positions of both countries for the purposes of eliminating the arising threat. Also signed were a plan for contacts between the CPSU and Yemen Socialist Party for 1980-1983, and a protocol on economic and technical cooperation.

The participants of the talks decisively condemned the concluding of a separate Egyptian-Israeli treaty. As was stated in the joint communique, under present-day conditions particularly important significance is being assumed by the strengthening of solidarity and unity of actions among the progressive Arab states and the PLO and all the patriotic forces of the Arab world in the struggle against imperialism and Zionism, and for achieving a reliable and just settlement in the Near East.

The participants of the talks condemned the attempts to create military-political blocs and were in favor of turning the Red Sea into a "peace zone" and for freedom of navigation in the Persian Gulf. They affirmed their support for the idea of turning the Indian Ocean into a "peace zone," emphasizing here the necessity of eliminating the foreign military and naval bases existing in its basin.

The visit to the USSR by the General Secretary of the Party of Arab Socialist Rebirth, the President of the Syrian Arab Republic [SAR] H. Assad, contributed to a further strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the USSR and the Arab East. Meetings between the Soviet and Syrian leaders have become a good tradition, and they are proof of the feelings of deep friendship and cooperation uniting both countries.

Naturally at the talks particular attention was given to the dangerous development of events in the Near East. The leaders of both countries again decisively condemned the Camp David accords and the separate Egyptian-Israeli treaty concluded with the active involvement of the United States.

As was stated in the joint communique, the USSR and the SAR will give primary significance to the development of political relations between them and will develop mutually advantageous economic cooperation. In the course of the talks, the questions were discussed of the providing of further Soviet aid to Syria in strengthening its defense potential, and the appropriate decisions were approved.

The international prestige of the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) has continued to grow. At present even those in the West who quite recently ignored its existence have begun to realize that without the participation of the PLO, it will be impossible to achieve an effective lasting and just peace in the Near East.

On 12-14 November, Moscow was visited by a PLO delegation headed by the chairman of the Executive Committee, Y. Arafat. In a joint communique with the Soviet side, high praise was given to the principled position of the PLO on the questions of a Near East settlement, and its contribution to strengthening the unity of actions of the Arab states in the struggle against surrender and separate deals.

The 10th Conference of the Heads of States and Governments of the Arab Countries held in November in Tunis repudiated the American-Israeli collusion, and expressed support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people.

The revolution in Iran which crushed one of the bastions of imperialism and world reaction is now living through a difficult stage. Recent months have been characterized by attempts at a certain increased activity by the rightist forces. At a meeting for the final review of the draft of the new constitution, influential groupings under the banner of "Islamization" attempted to exclude from the constitution provisions on social freedoms and democratic rights which would protect the interests of the city and rural workers. There has been a stronger tendency for the upper bourgeoisie and the landowners to suppress the movement of the working masses for their rights. The exacerbation of the Kurdish problem has led to new thousands of victims.

The government of M. Bazargan which has been unable to carry out the necessary changes in the area of the economy and politics was forced to retire. In accord with the edict of Ayatollah Khomeini the running of the government has been turned over to the Islamic Revolutionary Council of Iran.

Since the end of October, there has been a sharp new deterioration of American-Iranian relations causing an outburst of anti-American feelings in the Iranian people. The pretext for this was the news that the former

shah who had sufficed himself with bloody crimes against his own people had arrived in the United States "for treatment." On 31 October 1979, the Iranian government made a protest to the American authorities. On 4 November, in Teheran and other cities of the country, mass demonstrations were held. On the same day, hundreds of students occupied the building of the U.S. Embassy in Teheran, and demanded that the American administration hand over the overthrown shah for bringing him before a revolutionary court. Around 60 American diplomats were held as hostages. Ayatollah Khomeini and other officials and many political, social and religious organizations stated that the demands of the students expressed the will of the nation's people. In response, the U.S. government announced a halting of purchases of Iranian oil. The deporting of Iranian nationals from the United States was started. In turn, the Islamic Revolutionary Council announced a halt of oil exports to the United States. The intention was declared of withdrawing Iranian deposits from the American banks and their affiliates. In response, the U.S. president ordered a blocking of all Iranian deposits kept in American banks and their branches overseas. At the same time, the United States began to train military contingents for the subject of "quick response" in Iran, and began to move American naval forces, including five carriers, to the shores of the Persian Gulf.

In expressing its understanding of those feelings which motivate the Iranian people in this conflict and in supporting their just demands, the progressive international community and the USSR at the same time have supported the principle of respect for diplomatic privileges and immunities.

At the end of November, the situation in Iran was discussed by the UN Security Council and this approved a resolution calling for the release of the U.S. embassy personnel, as well as the settlement of the American-Iranian conflict by peaceful means. However, the U.S. government continued the policy of escalating pressure on Iran, and put the greatest pressure on the Western European countries and Japan for the purpose of organizing a trade and economic blockade.

The former shah left the United States and went to Panama. The Iranian minister of foreign affairs S. Qotbzadeh officially announced that the Iranian authorities had decided to organize a session of an international tribunal in Teheran the main purpose of which was to be not an investigation of accusations of espionage against the various held employees of the American Embassy, but rather a hearing of U.S. imperialist policy and the anti-Iranian plans of the American leadership.

The people of Afghanistan who are building a new society are conducting a decisive struggle against the forces of imperialism and reaction. On this path the Afghan people must surmount significant difficulties caused both by the age-old backwardness and by the incessant provocations of the internal reaction which is supported by the external imperialist forces. The Afghans suffered new hardships as a result of the usurpation of power in September 1979 by the imperialist agent H. Amin who unleashed a bloody

terror, the victims of which were the legitimate president D. Baraki and many other prominent figures of the People's Democratic Party (PDA), the military and Moslem clergy. Under conditions where imperialist intervention from outside and the terror unleashed by Amin created a real threat to the democratic system in Afghanistan, patriotic forces, relying on the support of the people, removed the usurper, and restored revolutionary legality.

On 28 December, at a session of the Politburo of the PDA Central Committee, Babrak Karmal was elected the general secretary of the Central Committee and he also headed the revolutionary Council and government. The new leadership urged the population of the nation to decisively come to the support of the victories of the April revolution.

Due to the fact that imperialist intervention into the internal affairs of democratic Afghanistan had assumed such scale and forms as to jeopardize the very existence of the republic, the PDA Central Committee and the Afghan government, acting in accord with Article 51 of the UN Charter and relying on the Treaty of Friendship, Good Neighborliness and Cooperation between the USSR and Afghanistan of 5 December 1978, turned to the USSR with an urgent request to provide immediate political, moral and economic aid, including military might. The Soviet Union met the request of the Afghan side, having sent, in particular, a limited military force.

Events in Afghanistan caused a rapid response by those forces, particularly in the imperialist states, which had not lost hope of eliminating the victories of the April revolution. They unleashed a campaign of gross slander, the true aim of which was to divert attention from the aggressive U.S. actions against Iran, the increasing of their military aid to Pakistan, and the strengthening of the American military presence in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean.

At the same time, the progressive forces in the world positively viewed the timely nature of the Soviet aid, and expressed full support to the Afghan people in their efforts to strengthen and develop democratic victories.

Significant advances have been made in the building of a new Ethiopia. In September, socialist Ethiopia marked the fifth anniversary of its revolution. The visit of A. N. Kosygin to Ethiopia (10-16 September) was an important point in the further strengthening of ties of friendship and co-operation between Ethiopia and the USSR.

The peoples of Southern Africa have continued their stubborn struggle for their liberty. In London, a constitutional conference for Rhodesia was held. Participating in it were the leaders of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front J. Nkomo and R. Mugabe, the puppet "premier" A. Muzorewa, and the head of the Rhodesian racists Ian Smith. The English delegation was headed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lord Carrington. Muzorewa and Smith agreed with the proposals and drafts of Lord Carrington on virtually everything.

political alliance with any one (including) the leaders of the Junta's anti-governmental Party. Thus, the Junta, in the course of the present struggle, has been given the power to banish figures and groups which, in their view, threaten the independence of Britain, intimidate and sustain the forces of the pro-white minority and the imperialists.

The conference, called an impasse several times, since having rejected the last draft of the Patriotic Front's program (the dismantling of the military wing of the present Rhodesian army and police, the retiring of officials and retired and former officials against the Africans, and the suspension of the negotiations to the Armed Forces and observers from neutral countries to ensure a free expression of the people's will). The last draft properly provided for the holding of new elections within 6 months after the cease-fire. During this time, supreme power in the country would be exercised by a British governor general. The Patriotic Front gave its approval to the English draft only under the condition that during the transitional period the subunits of the Patriotic Front would retain the same status as the "security forces" of Rhodesia and South, and, subsequently, would have the same rights in the regions controlled by them.

However, London, was prepared to impose discriminatory conditions for a settlement, trying to put the partisan demands of the patriots in a clearly vulnerable position vis-a-vis the army of the Patriotic regime. In ignoring the just demands of the Patriotic Front, the Conservative government and Bruce as governor-general in Salisbury, it lifted economic sanctions and ensured the closure of the conference.

This due to the firm and consistent position of the front at the talks was ultimately possible to reach a cease-fire agreement which, in the words of C. D. Smith, is a direct result of the victories of the national liberation movement and the support provided to the Zimbabwe patriots "by the front-line states," by the peoples of the socialist countries and by all progressive mankind.

The South African regime continues to obstinately carry out a racist policy. It has set as its goal to undermine the position of SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the people, in Namibia which is occupied by South African troops. Like the racist of Rhodesia, South Africa is conducting a criminal war against neighboring independent states.

The military potential of South Africa is being increased at a feverish pace. The international community with great concern reacted to the announcement that in Walvis Bay (Portuguese) an atomic reactor was in operation, and more than a year ago in the Kalahari Desert, a nuclear testing reactor had been discovered. On 27 September, a nuclear device was detonated in the region of South Africa. As is known, the military-industrial corporations of the West are providing help to the South African atomic scientists. The press has not ruled out that the explosion might have been carried out together with some second country, most likely Israel.

Imperialism of the policy of imperialist intervention and provocation carried out by the French African racists, the progressive liberation forces in the African continent during this period have won new successes. Impressive military and political victories were sustained by the Liberation Front of the Western Sahara (POLISARIO) which is conducting a courageous struggle for self-determination.

Imperialism was overthrown as a result of a coup, and his rule, accompanied by various sorts of comic opera attributes was marked by brutal cruelty. The Democratic forces of the Central African Republic have demanded profound social changes and the overcoming of all the consequences of colonialism and neocolonialism.

The forces of imperialism and Chinese hegemonism have continued to increase tension and provoke military conflicts in a number of regions of Asia. Particularly dangerous were the intrigues of Beijing which secretly and openly has been supported by the most aggressive circles of world reaction in the regions of Southeast Asia and the Far East. The Chinese threat to the security of Vietnam and Laos has increased. Large troop groupings have been moved from the interior regions of China into the zone bordering Vietnam and Laos. In Beijing, bold threats have been issued on the possibility of a new invasion of Vietnam. Already 15 divisions are concentrated along the borders of Vietnam. Long-range artillery, mines, etc and tanks are being delivered there. Firing on Vietnamese territory is increasing, Chinese detachments make raids on its territory, and sabotage groups are dropped into Laos. At the same time Beijing is providing all sorts of support to the Pol Pot bandits who suffered a crushing defeat in Kampuchea.

China is endeavoring to involve other states of the region in its adventures. Precisely this explains its constant desire to increase tension in the relations of Vietnam and Kampuchea with Thailand and the other ASEAN countries. Characteristic of this was the provocative statement by the Deputy Premier of the PRC State Council Deng Xiaoping made by him in meeting the speaker of the National Legislative Assembly of Thailand, K. Khonsakorn, that China "would stand on the side of the ASEAN nations, and particularly Thailand, in the event of an outbreak of a conflict" between these countries and Vietnam. Beijing has sent a military delegation to Thailand.

The threats by Beijing to use force in Southeast Asia dovetail with the policy of the Western powers, and primarily the United States, which in turn is betting on the destabilization of the situation in this region.

The campaign initiated in recent months by imperialist propaganda has also served the purposes of increasing tension in this region. On the one hand, the reactionary press has asserted that Vietnam has supposedly intervened into the internal affairs of Kampuchea, and on the other, in taking cover behind "humanitarian" considerations, dares to state the inability of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea to handle the economic problems, although it is well known that in a few months it is impossible to fully restore the national economy which for a number of years, with the sanction

of building and prior to this Washington, was necessarily laid waste and destroyed by a band of traitors. In actuality, in spite of the difficulties, Kampuchea has succeeded in achieving successes in rebuilding its national economy. With aid from the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries, the most grievous consequences of the rule of the Pol Pot clique, the case hunger, sickness and decline in production, have basically been overcome. The international positions of Kampuchea are growing stronger, and it has already been recognized by all states and the national liberation movement. These results were given at the Second Congress of the United Front of National Salvation of Kampuchea (UFNS) held in Phnom Penh at the end of September.

Nevertheless, the enemies of the Kampuchea people have succeeded in forcing the UN General Assembly to discuss the question of the "Situation in Kampuchea," and force through a resolution the fulfillment of which would mean the resurrection of the "Kampuchea problem." It is quite apparent that Washington and Beijing are hatching plans for new subversive actions against Kampuchea and the other states of Indochina. However, one cannot doubt that the peoples of Indochina, relying on the help from their friends and the sympathy and support from all the progressive international community, will turn these intrigues by imperialism and hegemonism to defeat.

Events show that peace and security in Asia can be protected and strengthened if the Asian states and the Asian community will undertake the appropriate efforts. The approach of the USSR to Asian problems is determined precisely by this.

The visit to the USSR by the Prime Minister of Malaysia Datuk Hussein Onn held from 10 through 25 September was a manifestation of the development of friendly ties between the USSR and Asian nations. The communique which was published after the end of the talks noted that on a whole series of problems relating to world policy and bilateral relations, the viewpoints of both countries coincide. It was stressed that the fundamental interests of both peoples comprise a basis for a further broadening of cooperation on such major problems as the strengthening of peace and detente, and resisting the policy of aggression, hegemonism and dictating of terms both in Asia and throughout the world. The parties expressed concern over the unstable situation in Southeast Asia and "emphasize the necessity of achieving confidence and good-neighbor relations between all countries" of this region.

The events of the last period convincingly show the correctness of the Soviet position which proceeds from the view that the strengthening of Asian security should occur by talks, the peaceful settlement of disputes, and not by hegemonism, incitement and military provocations. On its behalf, the Soviet Union has constantly shown good will to the search for solutions of the most complicated problems arising in the relations between the states, including in Asia. A vivid example of this is the constructive position of the USSR in the Soviet-Chinese talks which have started in Moscow.

The struggle of the Latin American countries for full economic and political independence from the United States has grown wider. On 3 October, the Panamanian-American treaties went into effect for the gradual transfer of the Panama Canal and the zone along both its sides to Panamanian jurisdiction. With interruptions the exhausting talks on the future status of the Panama Canal have lasted for 30 years. Two years ago they ended in a compromise. The Canal and its zone would be turned over stage by stage. Full final jurisdiction over the portion of the nation's territory should revert to Panama only on 1 January 2000. The American military bases are to be maintained. The U.S. Congress succeeded in larding the text of the treaties with numerous "corrections" which reserve for Washington the "right" to intervene.

The carrying out of progressive changes has continued successfully in Nicaragua, regardless of the significant economic difficulties and the grievous heritage of the Somoza regime. Along with the entire democratic community, the Soviet people respond with sincere sympathy to the efforts of the Nicaraguan patriots aimed at the resurrection of the country. On 18 October, after a long hiatus, diplomatic relations were normalized between the USSR and Nicaragua on the ambassadorial level.

The process of the crisis and collapse of antipopular regimes is growing stronger in Latin America, and the activeness of the masses and the political forces representing them is increasing.

On 15 October, officers of the armed forces in El Salvador carried out a state coup and overthrew the president Carlos Humberto Romero. At present, there still are not sufficient facts to provide a definite evaluation of the activities of the new leadership (two colonels and three civilians). However a number of its measures under the existing conditions have a positive nature. A shake-up was carried out in the military command with the replacing of superior officers by representatives of the "young wing of the armed forces," the leader of the presidential National Guard R. Alvarenga was arrested, and around 150 political prisoners were released from the capital prison. The new authorities have announced their intention to respect civil rights, to announce a political amnesty, to permit the activities of political parties, including the Communist Party, and trade unions, to carry out an agrarian reform, to take measures for the economic development of the country, and to struggle against corruption.

On 1 November, a state coup was carried out in Bolivia, and this was the fourth change of power over the last 18 months. The civilian president W. Quijano Arce was removed from his office. Power was seized by a group of military headed by Col A. Natusch. The coup evoked mass protests by the population. Upon the appeal of the Bolivian Workers Center, the largest trade union association, a general strike was announced. A committee was formed for the defense of democracy consisting of 26 political and trade union organizations and parties. It included the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement, the Bolivian Communist Party, the Front of Democratic and People's Unity, the Bolivian Workers Center, the Assembly for the Defense

17. Human Rights, and the Trade Union Federation of Miners and Factory Workers (TUM).

The National Congress (Parliament) at a joint session of both houses by 111 votes to 77 approved a decision not to recognize the government of Col. A. Siles, and urged the armed forces and the Bolivian Workers Center to jointly seek out "a political solution which would make it possible to maintain the process of democratization and domestic peace in Bolivia." Col. Siles was forced to retire. The chairman of the National Congress, Lydia Gutiérrez Tejada became the president of the country.

Events in the Latin American countries during the previous period show an exacerbation of the political struggle. The growth of influence of the progressive forces has encountered fierce resistance from the oligarchy and militaristic "gorillas." In fearing the appearance of a "new Cuba," Washington in every possible way is fanning the anticommunist psychosis. As the imaginary pretext for this, upon the initiative of Z. Brzezinski, as the press has written, the presence of a group of Soviet servicemen in Cuba was employed (the fact of their presence has been known to Washington for many years). American propaganda began to shout about a "Soviet military threat" in the Caribbean region, and under this clumsy pretext began military escalation such as landing troops at the Guantanamo base (located on Cuban territory and representing an actual threat to its security), naval maneuvers, and so forth.

However the broad circles of the public do not allow themselves to be deceived, in rightly explaining the exacerbation of the political situation in Latin America by the actual causes, that is, by social inequality, by the arbitrariness of the dictatorial regimes, as well as by the intervention of U.S. imperialism. The Ninth Session of the General Assembly of the Organization of American States held in La Paz, Bolivia, at the end of October demanded that the United States abandon the policy of dictating terms, and recognize the right of the peoples in these countries to independent development. The final declaration approved at the session should serve as a basis for a revision of inter-American relations in the interests of Latin America, and reflects a desire of a majority of the countries in the Western Hemisphere to turn the OAS into an effective organ for defending the continent's countries against the dictating of terms by Washington.

The International Workers Movement for Disarmament and Detente

Experience convinces one that the world-wide antiwar movement which has already become an important factor in modern international relations could even more effectively influence the course of world events if the political parties acting on behalf of the working class would function jointly in the interests of detente and disarmament. From this viewpoint, the establishing of cooperation between the two basic forces in the international workers movement--the communists and the social democrats--is of important significance.

For this reason, an important event was the visit to Moscow by the Work Group of the Socialist International on Disarmament Problems (from 9 September through 1 October). In receiving the members of the group, L. I. Brezhnev drew their attention to the fact that regardless of certain progress achieved in the 1970's in the area of detente and the creating of prerequisites for restricting the arms race, the enemies of detente and disarmament continue to intensify the pressure.

During its stay in Moscow, the Work Group headed by the chairman of the Finnish Social Democratic Party, K. Sorsa, had a number of meetings with the CPSU Central Committee. The parties affirmed their adherence to detente, and agreed that the arms race must be halted without delay, and there must be a substantial reduction of both nuclear weapons and conventional armaments, as well as in the sale of weapons.

The talks also showed the presence of definite differences of opinion in the approaches to certain disarmament questions. However, it was pointed out that this should not be an obstacle for a further search for the ways and means leading to control over weapons and disarmament.

The members of the Work Group were in Moscow at the time when the new initiatives of the USSR had not yet been made and which met the mood of the broad masses of people and clearly anticipated many of the desires voiced by the social democratic leaders. In the international workers movement, these proposals were given active support. At the same time, the workers voiced sharp opposition to the plans for producing and deploying in the Western European countries new American nuclear missile weapons aimed at Soviet territory.

The secretary general of the PCI, E. Berlinguer, declared: "We are categorically against the approval by the Italian government of the decision to deploy the missiles, and demand preliminary talks between NATO and the Warsaw Pact." The General Secretary of the French Communist Party, G. Marchais, decisively condemned the campaign of the supposed "Soviet threat." In a situation of the escalation of the arms race, the PCF called on the government to conclude a Franco-Soviet treaty on mutual security. The congress of English communists held in November called the policy of the Conservatives irresponsible, and sharply criticized the Thatcher government for its agreement to turn the nation into a launching pad for American missiles, as well as for the decision to deliver modern weapons to China. Support for the Soviet proposals was announced by the leading bodies of the communist parties in the United States, Canada, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Greece, Belgium, Spain and other countries.

The positions of the Social Democrats were also determined. In the words of the chairman of the Socialist International and the SPD, W. Brandt, after the speech in Berlin an opportunity has appeared for a new dialogue between East and West on a high political level, and this should be used. He cautioned against underestimating the constructive nature of the Soviet initiatives, and warned of the danger of a return to the Cold War. The

Chairman of the Austrian Socialist Party, B. Kreisky, emphasized that the proposal of L. I. Brezhnev to start talks on medium-range nuclear weapons "must be taken seriously, and not rejected as a plan to split NATO." The Netherlands Labor Party, the Social Democratic Party of Denmark, the Belgian Socialist Party, the All-Greek Socialist Movement, the Social Democratic Party of Finland, the People's Republic Party of Turkey, the youth organizations of the SEDP and the Free Democratic Party and a number of others came out against the decision to deploy "Eurostrategic" weapons prior to the holding of talks with the Warsaw Pact states on the reduction of medium-range nuclear missiles.

Many prominent laborites sharply criticized the position of the Tory Cabinet or the Soviet initiatives. The member of the House of Commons, N. Atkinson, in speaking in Parliament, called the response of M. Thatcher to the speech of L. I. Brezhnev in Berlin "militant" and demonstrating her "immaturity in international affairs." The document approved in October at the annual conference of the Labor Party in Brighton states that it "believes in detente, it is working for peace and will decisively obstruct any attempts to return to the times of the Cold War."

Definite changes have recently been observed in the direction of the joint statements and actions by the communists and Social Democrats against the arms race, in truth, as yet only in individual instances.

A noteworthy dialogue occurred between the German Communist Party (DKP) and a fraction of the SEDP in the Bundestag. On 16 October the DKP board called for the holding of a special session of the Bundestag for the purpose of being heard against the plans for the deployment of new American missiles, and to seriously discuss the Soviet proposals. In his reply to the DKP, the leader of the fraction of the SEDP, S. Wener, stated that the speech of L. I. Brezhnev "will be carefully gone through and studied," and he stressed the desire of the Social Democrats to hold professional talks. Having noted the generally positive tone of the Wener letter, the DKP leadership in its reply drew attention to the fact that the practical policy of the FRG government does not correspond to the assurances of the Social Democratic leaders.

In truth, under the pressure of many local organizations, the leadership of the SEDP incorporated in the initial text of the resolution on disarmament problems at the December party congress a correction which provides that in the event of the success of talks with the Soviet Union, that the carrying out of the decision to deploy the new missiles will be abandoned. However the actual support expressed by the congress for the NATO plans (Chancellor Schmidt put strong pressure on the delegates of the left wing) shows the inconsistent position of the West German Social Democrats.

The Social Democratic movement, as has been repeatedly emphasized by many of its leaders, bears a large share of the responsibility for what direction the development of the international situation will assume in the 1980's.

As was affirmed by L. I. Brezhnev in meeting the delegation of the Socialist International, our party in the future will favor professional contacts with the socialists and Social Democrats, as well as a constructive dialogue with all the democratic, peace-loving forces. The main thing, he said, consists in the fact that we have common tasks which are vitally important for the destiny of the peoples.

The Voice of the International Community

The autumn of 1979 was marked by a further broadening of actions by the social forces for curtailing the arms race and for real progress in disarmament and the ensuring of international security, and against international intervention and the policy of hegemonism.

A distinguishing feature of the antiwar movement in the past months has been the significant broadening of its political base and the ever more mass nature and new forms of action.

The supporters of peace have focused chief attention on decisively rebuffing the militaristic plans of the aggressive NATO circles who seek to increase their nuclear missile potential in Western Europe.

In this regard an important role has been played by the World-Wide Week for Disarmament Actions (24-30 October) as held in accord with a recommendation of a Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament. The World Peace Council (WPC) has actively supported this decision and within the Week has developed a broad campaign against the arms race.

Under such slogans as "No to Neutron Death!" "No to New American Nuclear Weapons in Europe!" hundreds of thousands of people took to the streets, they picketed military installations, and presented petitions to the rulers of their countries. This was the case in Washington, New York, San Francisco, Hamburg, Dortmund, Bonn, Munich, Amsterdam, the Hague, London, Brussels, Ghent, Athens, Istanbul, and many other cities.

One of the most vivid events in the campaign was the International Relay carried out under the motto "Halt the Neutron Bomb, Halt the Nuclear Arms Race, and for Further Detente and Disarmament!" Its initiator was the Dutch Joint Committee which included representatives of the Communist Party, the Labor Party, the Radical Political Party, the Council of Churches, and others. Starting in Amsterdam, the relay was run over the roads of a majority of the European nations. It was accompanied by mass meetings, by public gatherings and demonstrations. Then the relay crossed the ocean, where the Canadian peace supporters joined it, and ended in the United States on the last day of the Week for Disarmament Actions. The results of the relay were numerous declarations containing the demands of the public, and these were turned over to the UN.

The relay provided a significant impetus to the activities of various anti-war organizations. For example, in the United States, actions were taken

which in terms of scope could be compared with the actions against the American aggression in Vietnam. There was a mass meeting at the Capitol, an attempt to block the stock exchange building on Wall Street, the picketing of the Energy Department which is concerned with developing the new types of weapons of mass destruction, a demonstration in front of the gates of the Electric Boat Works in Connecticut which builds the Trident missile submarines, and much else.

Various groups of peace supporters in the Western European countries undertake very active measures. In England, the Movement for Nuclear Disarmament which is broad in its political make-up conducted a number of energetic actions. As one of its leaders, E. Keene, said, "It is essential to organize a truly nationwide movement against the attempts of NATO to stuff Western Europe with American nuclear weapons."

In the Netherlands, as during last year's campaign against the neutron bomb, the actions of the antiwar forces had a marked influence on the government's position. In the Hague, in front of the building where the NATO nuclear planning group was meeting, there were pickets with posters: "In Holland there is no room for new nuclear missiles!"

Various religious leaders and movements have also sharpened their position. During the Week for Disarmament Actions, in Washington an unusual inter-religious prayer service was held at which representatives of all the basic American churches called for the lifting of the threat of thermonuclear catastrophe from the world. Pope John Paul II in Rome received a delegation of the mentioned International Relay, and highly praised the activities of the peace supporters. The chairman of the International Catholic Peace Movement Pax Christi, Bishop I. Betazzu, came out against the new round of the arms race and in favor of talks with the USSR.

The leader of the largest Belgian social organization, the Christian Peace Movement, A. Gilet, states: "The plans for deploying new U.S. nuclear missiles on the territory of Belgium, the FFC and the Netherlands are of an extremely dangerous nature, and mean the undermining of the process of detente and the policy of disarmament." The Christian Movement, the Belgian Peace Alliance, the "Disarmament in Order to Survive" Group, and others undertook a mass campaign, and collected signatures for the petition "No to Nuclear Missiles in Belgium." On 7 December, on the eve of the session of the NATO bodies, in Brussels, a large international protest demonstration was organized, with socialists, communists, and Catholics participating.

Also taking a decisive stand against the policy of the leading NATO circles are prominent scientists, military specialists and political figures who until recently themselves were involved in working out the military strategy doctrines of NATO or were in on the secrets of the military-industrial complex.

On the 11-12 August in the capital of the Federal Republic of Germany, Bonn, the Headquarters of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was visited by an unofficial American delegation consisting of G. Seoville, former deputy head of the Weapons Control and Disarmament Agency, A. Cox who worked in the State Department and CIA as an expert on European weapons, and R. Barnes, director of the Washington Institute for Political Research. The members of this group convinced the governments of a number of nations (in particular, Denmark) not to agree to the plans of the NATO leadership, since their approval would serve "as a signal for reciprocal actions," and would cause a new upswing in the arms race.

The Italian senator, Gen N. Paati, in the past deputy commander-in-chief of the NATO armed forces in Europe, in speaking to a public audience, gave convincing examples of the unsoundness of references to the "Soviet military threat" and the supposed violation of strategic equilibrium by the USSR. Precisely the deployment of the Eurostrategic weapons, he stressed, will lead to a change in the existing parity.

Among the international meetings of the past period, a special place is held by the European Public Forum for Disarmament and Security held on 16-18 October in the Belgian resort of De Pan. Among the approximately 300 delegates from 29 countries of Europe, the United States and Canada were leaders of Social Democratic, Democratic Christian and Pacifist organizations. Many spoke directly on behalf of their parties and parliaments. Also participating in the forum were representatives from the United Nations, other international organizations, a personal representative of the chairman of the Socialist International Work Group on Disarmament, and an envoy from the Vatican.

The participants called for the immediate implementation of the SALT-2 Treaty, they supported the Soviet peace initiatives, and seriously criticized the actions of the United States and the NATO leadership. One of the forum's organizers, the Canon R. Goor, said that the meeting had become a true dialogue in favor of peace, detente and disarmament, and was a significant step ahead in uniting the most diverse social forces to struggle for disarmament and security.

The problems of the preservation of peace and the prevention of a thermo-nuclear catastrophe were also at the center of attention of the World Conference "For a Peaceful and Happy Future for All Children" held in Moscow on 7-11 September 1979 under the announced UN International Children's Year. Participating in it were the representatives of the more than 130 countries and 47 international and regional organizations, including the UNESCO Director General M'Bou, public figures, scientists and children's writers. F. Braun, chairman of the International Federation of Democratic Women, in her speech gave examples of the poverty-struck position of children in many capitalist and developing countries. Some 600 million children live in poverty, 200 million are starving, and 100 million do not have an opportunity to study. According to UN data, 400 billion dollars are spent annually on the arms race, while each year 10 million children die from hunger.

In the unanimously approved appeal to the United Nations, governments and parliaments, the conference participants demanded that the necessary measures be taken to improve the situation of the younger generation, and to protect it against the pernicious effect of militarism, armed conflicts, aggression, economic exploitation and national suppression.

The questions of halting the arms race and taking effective measures in the direction of disarmament were also on the agenda of a whole series of other important international measures, such as: the 66th Conference of the Interparliamentary Union (the middle of September, Caracas), the World Meeting of War Veterans (18-21 October, Rome), the 27th Assembly of the World Federation of Associations for Aiding the United Nations (15-21 October, Barcelona), and the International Symposium on Disarmament and the Environment (17-19 October, Moscow).

On the threshold of the meeting of the NATO Council, the international democratic organizations carried out numerous major actions aimed at thwarting the aggressive plans of the NATO leadership. According to the appeal of the WPC, 27 November was declared to be the World-Wide Day of Action Against the NATO Plans.

The mass movement aimed at preventing a new phase of the arms race, putting an end to the militaristic psychosis and achieving a real change in military detente is not limited to Europe and North America. Many political parties and public organizations in Argentina, Nicaragua, Peru, Venezuela, El Salvador, Jamaica, Panama, Guyana, Mexico and other countries have demanded that Washington stop the "gunboat" policy in the Caribbean region. Broad actions against the escalation of the U.S. military presence in the Indian Ocean were carried out during the UN Action Week in India, Sri Lanka, on Madagascar, in Australia, and other countries. The First Solidarity Conference of Trade Unions in the countries of Asia and the southern Pacific basin ended on 15 November in Sydney. Its participants supported the new peace initiatives of the USSR, they condemned the NATO plans in Western Europe, and demanded the immediate ratification of the SALT-2 Treaty. The conference was in favor of declaring the Indian and Pacific oceans as "peace zones." It demanded the elimination of foreign military bases and the breaking up of military alliances, and expressed concern over the adventuristic, hegemonic policy of the PRC.

The international democratic organizations, and above all the WPC, the AAPSO, the World Trade Union Federation, the International Organization of Journalists, and others have developed a solidarity campaign with the much-suffering people of Kampuchea, and have demanded that Beijing halt its military provocations against Vietnam and Laos.

Public actions have not abated for a settlement in the Near East and in support of the just demands of the Arab people of Palestine. The World Arab Peoples Solidarity Congress held in Lisbon on 2-6 November caused a significant international reaction. This was attended by 700 delegates from 250 national and international organizations. The congress had high praise

for the support given by the USSR and CPSU to the Arab peoples, and for the consistent line of the Soviet Union in the United Nations aimed at the triumph of the just cause of the Palestinians.

The events of the past months show that the international community, and above all its democratic associations, are fully determined to do everything possible to force the circles carrying out the policy of militarism, aggression and hegemonism to retreat and to abandon the plans aimed at increasing tension, exacerbating military confrontation, and suppressing the struggle of the peoples for liberty and independent development.

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INTERNATIONAL

U.S. TRIES TO SABOTAGE CULTURAL EXCHANGES WITH USSR

LD081451 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jul 80 p 14

[Own correspondent Iona Andronov New York dispatch under the rubric "Helsinki: Who Is Opposed?": "Saboteurs"]

[Text] Three times in the last month--on 3, 11 and 20 June--when addressing his Washington legislator-colleagues Senator James Sasser, a Democrat from Tennessee, condemned extremely sharply the Soviet-American exchange of published material. The unusual fervor of Sasser's speeches on this matter caused great bewilderment among many people here: What fly had suddenly bitten the senator from Tennessee? As is well known, foreign press and literature problems are not the kind to worry the local powers-that-be there. Why has the senator now pounced upon the exchange of published material between the United States and the USSR?

Doug Hall, the Tennessee senator's press secretary, undertook to answer the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent's question. He stated:

"The U.S. Senate is now once more reviewing the law on the free [besplatnyy] exchange of information with other countries, and my chief Sasser considers the one-sided exchange between Soviet central libraries and the U.S. Library of Congress and also with our capital's Smithsonian Institution to be unfavorable for us."

[Question] With what specifically are you dissatisfied?

[Answer] Senator Sasser spoke especially critically of the English-language magazines SOVIET LITERATURE, CULTURE AND LIFE, SOVIET UNION, SOVIET WOMEN, SPUTNIK, SPORT IN THE USSR and so forth supplied by you from the USSR.

[Question] What do you not like about the publications you have listed?

[Answer] We do not like the fact that fundamentally they contain information of a cultural nature and give us no interesting military-technical information on Soviet Russia.

"But, you know, your boss recognized in his Senate speeches," I recalled, "that you regularly receive the Moscow English-language magazine SOVIET MILITARY REVIEW."

"This is not enough for us," Hall objected. "The SOVIET MILITARY REVIEW does not enable our relevant government institutions to gather the comprehensive information which they need on the USSR's strategic potential. And once we are deprived of full information in this aspect the whole exchange of printed matter with you becomes quite useless to us...."

And thus, in Mr Hall's words, his boss and the members of the U.S. Congress who are united with him, essentially want to cancel the Soviet-American exchange of information on both countries' cultural and social life simply on the absurd basis that the Pentagon and the U.S. intelligence services are extraordinarily upset by the lack of secret information on the USSR's defense measures in the Soviet press.

This sounds like an anecdote? Or politically amoral? Yes, of course. Nevertheless, it must unfortunately be noted in seriousness that the Tennessee obscurantist's clumsy attacks on the cultural exchange between two great peoples is a constituent part of the present broad campaign in the United States for a sharp reduction in all Soviet authors' publications here, primarily in the sphere of those which bring people together--art, literature, publicism, theater and cinema.

Even the well-known magazine AMERICA, the U.S. Government's publicity publication, now admits this fact, which inquisitive and unbiased Americans find regrettable. This June's edition of the magazine states: "Few of the latest Soviet works are on sale. Several years elapse between the appearance of a new, interesting book in the Soviet Union and its publication in the United States." Why? Because such is the intensely anti-Soviet course of the Washington authorities now. They are foisting their will on publishing houses, libraries and booksellers here. These are supposedly independent of the ruling administration but are in fact obedient to it.

The June book exhibition in Chicago is the latest confirmation of this. Before the opening the exhibition organizers--the Association of American Booksellers--asked for the U.S. State Department's official recommendations: Which people and how many should they invite to Chicago from Moscow? Previously dozens of Soviet guests had come to similar yearly exhibitions. But now the U.S. State Department permitted only two representatives of the All-Union Copyright Agency to come from Moscow, and all sorts of obstacles were put in the way of one of them in getting an American entry visa. The NEW YORK TIMES explains the reason for the backstage intrigues in the following way: "This is an indirect consequence of the Carter administration's boycott of the Moscow Summer Olympics. As a result the U.S. State Department has made it difficult for the Soviet book publishing representatives to get visas." Meanwhile,

as the six York Times stories, 12 Beijing officials have been invited to the Chicago exhibition and have been honored in every way.

The U.S. Treasury Department, taking money from the frozen fund of the Soviet-American public contacts program, has paid out \$350,000 in special finance for book trading with China. As a result, the Chicago book exhibition has been used as an arena for anti-Soviet propaganda. Instead of cultural exchange obvious sabotage has been incited.

In New York this summer it has reached the point where, with prompting from above, anti-Soviet people have begun to hound Michael Korda, the head of the major publisher Simon and Schuster. The NEW YORK POST has been reproaching him bluntly, accusing the publisher of "hoping to publish between two and four books by Russian authors each year." In this paper's view, such acts are almost akin to subversive anti-American activity.

However, some instigators of the wrecking of USSR-U.S. cultural exchange are already displaying noticeable alarm in connection with the approaching Madrid meeting of representatives of the states which participated in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The saboteurs fear that they will be unmasked and branded openly. Thus, in order to justify themselves, the book printing business' most reactionary bosses, headed by Robert Bernstein and Winthrop Kornblith, quickly commissioned Maurice Friedberg, a contributor to the notorious Voice of America, to compose a pseudo-literary report aiming at proving the absolutely unprovable: That not they but the Soviet Union is responsible for the small number of Soviet books in translation in English in the United States in comparison with the hundreds of volumes of American men of letters published in millions in the USSR.

The work concocted by Friedberg was analyzed in detail and exposed by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in April. But as before, the violators of the Helsinki agreement are stubbornly repeating his main thesis, accusing the Soviet publishers of some kind of censorship. The grounds for this is the Soviet ban on books which preach war and racism, which sow hostility and hatred, which have a taste for immorality, murder and debauchery. These are the very poisonous themes which are taking hold of America's book market now and its leading amusement magazines and picture dailies. In New York, Roger Straus, owner of the esteemed book publishing house Farrar, Straus and Giroux, is sharply critical of his colleagues and booksellers for the mass production of artistically worthless products in the pursuit of scandalous publicity and maximum profits. The bookstore owners are primarily aiming at the fast sale of cheap hits since these books are obliged to break even with the publishing houses in 10 days. And they print any tasteless work since most U.S. publishing houses belong to the giant industrial corporations which ultimately are interested in just one thing--profits.

Recently Roger McNamee complained: "Many of our book publishing houses are managed by businessmen, financiers and attorneys who disregard the quality of the books published. I know that any publishing house which belongs to an industrial corporation is forced to lower the artistic level of its books under pressure from the corporation managers. They say, for example: Our carpet-producing firm produces 15 percent profit but our publishing house brings in only a 4 percent return and must somehow begin raising its profits!"

Thus publishers are gambling increasingly frequently on books with a guaranteed cash-desk success. With their sights on profitable but worthless goods, publishers refuse to continue printing even highly artistic novels whose first editions have been approved by readers. And this is genuine censorship--unofficial, covert, silent. But nevertheless unusually effective. Furthermore, in the United States there openly exist 200 regional censorship organizations occupied with the thorough ideological "weeding" of thousands of municipal, school and college libraries. Thus they mercilessly remove all seditious or free-thinking books or educational treatises on history, novels, stories, poems, collections of short stories written in particular by many of those American men of letters who now enjoy broad popularity in the Soviet Union. The most recent evidence of this is Iowa's ban on John Steinbeck's novel "The Grapes of Wrath." The Washington government periodically acts undisguised as a political censor.

There is, in addition, another organ of Washington state censorship--the CIA's "Publications Review Council." The CIA's inspectors have the authority to ban the publication of literary or publicistic works without exception of any American citizen who has links, however brief and in the distant past, with the U.S. intelligence service. Frank Snepp, a former and minor CIA employee but now a venerable man of letters, who once broke the CIA's censorship rules, cannot now write a single line unhindered under threat of prison. The CIA has confiscated Snepp's previous literary fees. His recent novel has been banned. Snepp is not even allowed to earn extra by giving public readings of an earlier text written by him. And so as to teach people not to contradict the CIA's literary censor in future, the exemplary sentencing of Snepp to silence has been upheld by a special decision of the U.S. Supreme Court....

Those American political intriguers and businessmen dealing in literature who have jointly taken up arms against the cultural exchange between the Soviet and American peoples, clearly want to force the Washington censorship's harsh rules on those participating in it. They want to dictate which books or magazines are suitable for them and which approved authors must be published by them and disseminated in both countries. However, this diktat is a scandalous contradiction of the principles signed by the U.S. Government in the Helsinki Final Act.

CSO: 1800

INTERNATIONAL

DANGERS INHERENT IN NORAD COMPUTER ERRORS

LF-230957 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jun 80 p 5

[Article by G. Vasiliev under the Rubric "International Notes": "Computers and Generals"]

[Text] The insanities of the Pentagon's "electronic brain" which twice in a week has emitted false signals announcing a "Soviet missile attack" remain the subject of comments in the newspapers and in parliaments. People in various countries of the world have been deeply worried not only that the main computer at the North American Air Defense Command (NORAD) headquarters committed such dangerous "errors" but also at the way in which events developed immediately afterwards. After all immediately after the false alert signal given by the computer the U.S. strategic forces--bombers, ground-based missiles and submarines--were put on combat alert. What is more, neither the President nor the defense secretary were informed. A few minutes passed which could have been fatal, before the all-clear signal followed.

There is cause to be upset. The newspapers of the socialist countries and West Europe and the U.S. press are writing of the events connected with the NORAD computer's sinister tricks. A large group of labor members of Parliament is demanding that an emergency debate on this issue be held in the British House of Commons. In the United States itself alarmed voices are to be heard. The anxious even include a "hawk" like Senator J. Tower who is urging the Senate Armed Services Committee to conduct an appropriate investigation.

Only the Pentagon feels almost cheerful. U.S. Defense Secretary H. Brown "reassured" the public, stating that the "occurrence" in NORAD was "an ordinary phenomenon which will probably happen again." And Gen D. Jones, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, went even further. He opined that false nuclear alerts in the United States are even "useful" since they serve as a "warning" to the Soviet Union. "Since in any attack the United States would have little time," the general said, "it is better for us to be prepared and better for the Soviets to know that we are prepared and can respond in just a few minutes."

Indeed, what has a "bad computer" got to do with it? The defense secretary and the general are obviously reluctant to take second place to it or to each other in terms of rashness. They of all people should know the destructive power of nuclear weapons and the importance of minutes in the missile age and should imagine the possible price of errors and blunders which place the world on the brink of thermonuclear catastrophe. Irresponsible statements by the Pentagon leaders reinforce the suspicions voiced in the West that the alleged "malfunctions" of the NORAD computer conceals provocations by the military which is playing with fire. And if you consider that the transatlantic "awks" are again nurturing the idea of a preemptive nuclear strike, then the "lapses" of the Pentagon's "electronic brain" acquire a truly sinister nature.

It is dangerous when the main air defense computer "errs" and signals the start of a "missile attack." It is even more dangerous when the leaders of a country's military machine justify and even parade these incidents which threaten to entail a nuclear catastrophe. Mankind is vitally interested in protecting itself both against the "madness" of computers and against the generals' rashness.

CSO: 1800

INTERNATIONAL

REVIEW OF FILM EXPOSING HYPOCRISY OF CAPITALIST SOCIETY

LD230943 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian Morning Edition 14 Jun 80 p 3

[Article by V. Matveyev: "A World of Callousness and Arbitrariness"]

[Excerpts] Capitalism's incurable ailments and vices proclaim themselves on every street corner of the West's large and small cities and even bourgeois politicians are compelled to acknowledge their existence, particularly during preelection campaign periods when, speaking from this or that rostrum, they resort to demagogic in making all kinds of promises about their determination to act in the name of the "public good."

Now we can see one of these figures on the screen. The action takes place in the United States. The time is the presidential campaign of summer 1976. There is the posing with the family in front of the reporters. The dazzling smiles. And the fabulous promises to the ordinary people, the American masses...

Thus begins the publicistic film "This is the 'Free World'", released by the Central Documentary Film Studio, with a scenario by L. Zamyatin and L. Makhnach. (Director: L. Makhnach; cameraman: V. Kiselev.) A highly revealing film has been made, many of its episodes relate to very recent events. The film was shot in the United States and Western Europe. Film material from foreign archives was also used. The vast panorama not of some sensational, extraordinary occurrences but of everyday life, of the life of contemporary capitalist society unfolds before the viewer...A panorama which leaves no one indifferent because this is irate, accusatory material on a system which dooms mankind to inhuman conditions of existence.

The film ends with shots dating from the most recent months showing the intensifying militarist activity of the American military. To the accompaniment of clamorous phrases about "defending the vital interests," of the United States, the Pentagon sends aircraft carriers to the shores of countries in the Persian Gulf, accelerates plans for deploying new nuclear missile weapons in West Europe and, with the Beijing leaders, forms a bloc against the national liberation movements and against our country and the other socialist countries. This is a course which threatens the foundations of world peace but one which has no future and is doomed to inevitable failure.

The shots in the film which show the magnificent reception accorded to the U.S. President when he visited Tehran at the beginning of 1978 when Shah Riza Pahlavi was still on his throne, are significant. Washington considered the Shah's regime a buttress of U.S. imperialist policy in that region. The United States supplied \$60 billion worth of weapons to Iran. The whirlwind of the People's Movement in Iran swept away this bastion of imperialism, and the American strategists are now feverishly looking for new pretexts, chinks and loopholes to keep in their gunsights countries and peoples who have chosen the independent road of development and who are fully determined to be masters of their own home and of their own national resources. This is at the basis of the incessant intrigues and plots against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. What a symbolic scene: Z. Brzezinski, the adviser to the U.S. President, with a submachine gun trained on Afghanistan during his trip to Pakistan! Such is the complexion of this warmongering missionary of the "free world"!

As they say, commentary is superfluous here. The documentary scenes of the everyday life of this "free world" reproduced on the screen are a severe indictment of it.

CSO: 1800

INTERNATIONAL

BRIEFS

EUROPEAN PEOPLE'S PARTY SCORED--Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian on 6 July 1980 carries on page 5 a 1,500-word article by Ernst Genri entitled "Sinister Alliance" under the rubric "The Enemies of Detente: Who Are They?" which traces the history of the Brussels-based "European People's Party"--described as "supranational alliance of rightist circles whose members include a number of prominent bourgeois politicians in West European countries." The author goes on to name Bavarian President Franz-Josef Strauss, British Prime Minister M. Thatcher and A. Fanfani, speaker of the Italian Senate, as the three principal figures in the "alliance" which, it is claimed, aims to "create a new anti-Soviet and antisocialist superpower--a so-called 'United West Europe.'" The article emphasizes in particular the role of F.-J. Strauss and the "close ties" between British and West German military-industrial concerns. [LD101631] [Editorial Report]

CSO: 1800

GEORGIAN PARTY, GOVERNMENT DECREE ON FODDER PRODUCTION

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 14 Jun 80 p 1

[Article from BruzINFORM in the column "In the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party and the Council of Ministers of the Georgian SSR": "More Fodder for the Farms"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party and the Council of Ministers of the Georgian SSR adopted the decree "On Supplementary Measures to Increase the Production of Coarse and Rich Fodder in 1980 and Improve its Quality."

The decree notes that the rayon agricultural agencies, kolkhozes, sovkhozes and coordinating enterprises of the republic, in carrying out the resolution of the 25th Congress of the Georgian Communist Party and the 18th (1975) Plenum of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party, achieved a certain success in guaranteeing fodder for livestock breeding. Last year, for example, 1.1 million tons of feed units were amassed or, in per-capita terms, 17.89 quintals per standard head of cattle, whereas the plan called for only 16.

Nevertheless, the volume of fodder produced and laid in on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the republic still does not satisfy the growing needs of livestock breeders for high-grade fodder.

The party, soviet and agricultural agencies of a number of rayons and cities do not spend enough time organizing the production of coarse and rich fodder. Natural fodder resources are not satisfactorily utilized. Not enough organic and mineral fertilizers are used on fodder crops, hay fields and pasturelands, and the yield of fodder crops and productivity of hayfields and pasturelands are growing slowly.

Each year many kolkhozes and sovkhozes fall short of the established goals for the production and laying in of coarse and rich fodder, and the quality of the fodder that is laid in continues to be low, as a result of which many requests are made over the winter for an allotment of fodder from other rayons and state reserves to feed the cattle.

The irresponsibility of a number of employees who had been assigned the task of insuring the incorporation of the achievements of scientific and technical progress in the production, laying in and utilization of fodder led to an underfulfillment of the goals to be carried out by such effective methods as drying hay by forced ventilation, adding carbomide to the silage, fundamentally improving natural hayfields and pastures, pelletting and granulating feed, making combinated silage, and also converting straw to silage through the use of sour milk fermentation.

The Ministry of Agriculture of the Georgian SSR, the Gruzgorskomsel'khoz-tehnika [Georgian State Committee for Production and Technical Provision of Agriculture] and their agencies on the scene are not taking the necessary measures to put feed-preparation shops and plants into operation and to install granulators, pellet makers and machines for producing grass meal on time.

The plan for sowing repeated feed crops is regularly not being fulfilled, the agrotechnical deadlines for tilling them are being violated, and these crops are being sown pure, without being mixed with bean crops, as a result of which the yield of these crops and the protein content in the fodder are low.

As a result of a rainy spring this year, a rich grass crop has ripened everywhere on the auxiliary lands, and the full utilization of it will guarantee a good stockpile for creating a solid reserve of feed and a normal winter for the livestock. At the same time a delay in harvesting the grass from these lands will lead to the irretrievable loss of a substantial reserve.

Obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms of the Georgian Communist Party and the Councils of Ministers of the Abkhaz ASSR and the Adzhar ASSR, the ispolkoms of the Soviets of People's Deputies of the Yugo-Osetian AO and of cities and rayons, the Ministry of Agriculture of the Georgian SSR, the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources of the Georgian SSR, the Gruzgorskomsel'khoz tehnika, the local agricultural agencies and the managers and specialists from the kolkhozes, sovkhozes and coordinating enterprises on all farmsteads and in all regions are obligated to develop and carry out supplementary measures that will fully guarantee high-quality fodder for the livestock-breeding industry with the estimated goal for 1980 of laying in 700 thousand tons of hay, 900,000 tons of haylage, 500,000 tons of other coarse fodder, 1 million tons of silage, 170,000 tons of fodder root-crops and melons and 50,000 tons of grass meal, of using 107,000 hectares for the repeat sowing of fodder crops, and of guaranteeing that 43,000 tons of grain be turned over to the state in exchange for mixed feed.

They should adopt the measures necessary to overfulfill the goals to fundamentally improve natural fodder lands, create irrigable hayfields and pastures, supply pastures with water, and renovate water resources installations. Measures should also be taken to build and put into operation new silage and haylage installations and storehouses for hay, artificially dehydrated green fodder and root and tuber crops. In overfulfilling the plan, the 1979 shortfalls are to be made up.

The fulfillment of the goals set for drying hay by forced ventilation and producing grass meal and granulated and pellet feeds must be unconditionally guaranteed, and measures must be taken to procure additional ~~seed~~ es for the laying in of coarse and rich fodder, making the maximal use of wild vegetation and secondary plants for these purposes. At the same time that coarse fodder is being laid in, the transport of it must be organized to those places where the livestock will spend the winter, so that this will be basically completed before the indoor maintenance of the cattle begins, and measures must be taken so that the registering and transfer of the fodder for storage to the people responsible might be done on time. Control must be tightened over the quality of fodder during the laying-in period at the kolkhozes, sovkhozes and coordinating enterprises, checks on the quality of fodder by the republic and zone agrochemical and veterinary laboratories must be expanded, and it must be guaranteed that the analyses will be made and the results of the checks on the fodder quality presented to the farmsteads within the prescribed period. In addition, a republic reserve bank of coarse fodder containing no less than 1 percent of the volume laid in should be created.

This very year specialized departments, brigades and mechanized units for fodder production should be formed on every kolkhoz, sovkhoz and coordinating enterprises, with fodder production being assigned to a separate independent branch of the farmsteads.

The Kazbegskiy, Dushetskiy, Tianetskiy, Leningorskiy and Dzhavskiy raykoms of the Georgian Communist Party and the ispolkoms of the corresponding Soviets of People's Deputies, the Ministry of Agriculture of the Georgian SSR and its association for managing the Kizlyar winter pastures have been commissioned to guarantee that 50,000 tons of coarse fodder be laid in at the Kizlyar winter pastures.

The republic association "Gruzsortsemprom" is responsible for fulfilling the plans for the production of feed seeds for the kolkhozes, sovkhozes and coordinating enterprises and, if necessary, make up for any lacking quantity of seeds.

The Glavgruzvodstroy has been commissioned to put into operation 11,000 hectares of irrigation systems and 1.88 thousand hectares of sprinkler systems and also to renovate drainage systems on 1.1 thousand hectares.

The Ministry of Procurement of the Georgian SSR was commissioned to hand over 10,000 tons of by-products from the flour industry to the Ministry of Agriculture of the Georgian SSR to be distributed among the kolkhozes and sovkhozes so that they might use it to feed cattle; it was also commissioned to guarantee a year-round return to the farms that provided grass meal of not less than 30 percent of the kraft bags received from them so that they could be used again; and to guarantee an uninterrupted receipt, high-quality storage and efficient use of industrial and agricultural by-products in accordance with approved technical documents.

The Ministries of Agriculture and of Land Reclamation and Water Resources of the Georgian SSR and the Gruzgorskomsel'khoztekhnika were assigned the following tasks: to guarantee that all of the farmsteads' sprinklers, power-pump units, and machines and equipment for laying in and processing fodder would be prepared for operation according to schedule; to increase the number of projects for the repair and technical servicing of the above-mentioned machines and equipment, by means of and at the expense of the Gruzgorskomsel'khoztekhnika; and also to create in the rayon associations of the Gruzgorskomsel'khoztekhnika an exchange bank containing assemblies, units and full-scale equipment, that is necessary for this purpose; to use irrigational equipment to water fodder crops on 10,000 hectares of unirrigated land; to select through the water-resources project organizations the land suitable for watering and to work out simplified technical documents for organizing the watering; to construct, repair and renovate ahead of time ponds and reservoirs, wells, pits and water-scooping installations within the parameters of the projects established by the plan; and to complete the repair and renovation projects necessary to insure the readiness of the sprinklers and power-pump units and equipment on the farms in time for the watering season.

The governing board of the Central Committee is completely committed to organizing the delivery and sale of the hand tools (scythes, rakes, etc.) that the farms need for harvesting grasses.

The Ministry of Forestry of the Georgian SSR must procure 3,500 tons of hay from the forest clearings and produce 1,000 tons of fodder meal from the green mash from needles and underbrush for subsequent transfer to the Ministry of Procurement of the Georgian SSR.

Goals are going out by decree to each region for the collection of food wastes for fattening pigs at the enterprises of the food and meat and milk industries, public catering, trade, and housing and municipal offices.

The Ministry of Agriculture of the Georgian SSR and other ministries and departments that have sovkhozes and other state agricultural enterprises under their jurisdiction have been assigned the task of seeing to it that the expenditures connected with introducing the measures of material encouragement set forth in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers of 20 March 1980, "On Supplementary Measures to Increase the Production of Coarse and Rich Fodder in 1980 and Improve Their Quality," be realized within the limits of the wage funds established for the sovkhozes and other state agricultural enterprises.

The Tbilisi and Rustavi gorkoms of the Georgian Communist Party and the ispolkoms of the Soviets of People's Deputies of Tbilisi and Rustavi have been given the task of procuring through city organizations 5,000 tons of green mash and transmitting it to the suburban sovkhozes.

The Gosplan of the Georgian SSR has been commissioned to provide the Ministry of Agriculture with passenger cars and motorcycles from the marketable fund, for sale to tractor drivers, machinists, chauffeurs and workers and specialists on the kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other state agricultural enterprises who achieve high indicators in laying in high-quality fodder in 1980.

The Central Committee of the Georgian Komsomol is to conduct widespread organizational and mass political work to actively attract Komsomol members and other youth to the creation of a solid fodder base for the republic's livestock breeding industry; to extend still further the socialist competition among the Komsomol youth brigades and units and all young people engaged in laying in fodder; and to organize all kinds of mass volunteer intensive days spaced at various regular intervals (every Saturday, every Sunday, every ten days, monthly) for workers and students.

In order to get the maximum fodder use out of the gross crop on auxiliary lands, June has been designated as the target month for laying in fodder from these lands. In connection with this, party, soviet, and economic agencies and Komsomol and trade-union organizations have been commissioned to guarantee that all the grass is mowed along the sides of the roads, rivers, reservoirs and irrigation systems, on the terraces and fringe areas of agricultural strips, ravines and other poorly accessible plots, at the airports, and in the parks and squares and on the lawns of cities and rayon centers.

With this goal in mind, grass-cutting assignments must be given to each organization, enterprise, institution and educational establishment, with each one being assigned specific sections of the lands enumerated above; the organizations must be attached to the agricultural enterprises, and the period and schedule for their delivery of the green mash must be established.

In order to guarantee a high degree of organization in the laying in of the fodder and the unconditional fulfillment of the present decree, a republic staff, "Fodder 80," has been formed, made up of Comrade O. G. Vardzelashvili (director), Ye. M. Vorobeychik, V. I. Kadents, O. V. Melkadze, N. A. Popkhadze, D. Ye. Sarishvili, T. G. Stepanov, L. S. Kharbediya, and Sh. M. Etsadashvili.

Such staffs are being formed in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Gruzgospkomsel'khoztekhnika and should be formed in all the gorkoms and raykoms of the Georgian Communist Party; they should be made up of the first secretaries of the gorkoms and raykoms, the chiefs of the rayon agricultural administrations, the chairmen of the rayon and city People's Control Committees, the first secretaries of the gorkoms and raykoms of the Georgian Komsomol and the heads of divisions for education of the ispolkoms of the city and rayon Soviets of People's Deputies.

It has been established that the republic, city and rayon staffs are to be responsible for supervising the organization of the projects for fodder procurements from all the lands for the entire season and for all types of fodder.

Two mobile brigades (one for Eastern and one for Western Georgia) are being created under the auspices of the People's Control Committee of the Georgian SSR; they are made up of responsible employees from people's control agencies, specialists on feed production and feed-harvesting technology, and representatives from republic newspapers, television and radio broadcasting.

The editorial boards of republic, city and rayon newspapers and the Georgian State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting have been commissioned to systematically publicize the course of the socialist competition in the laying in of fodder, to play up the experience of the leading workers, and to expose the shortcomings in this important matter.

The Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party and the Council of Ministers of the Georgian SSR have expressed confidence that the party, soviet, agricultural, trade-union and Komsomol agencies, the kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises of the republic, being guided by the resolutions of the 25th Congress of the Georgian Communist Party and the 20th (1980) Plenum of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party, will exert all efforts to successfully fulfill the tasks involving the subsequent solidification of a fodder base for livestock breeding and will guarantee a significant increase in the production and laying in of coarse and rich fodder.

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ROLE OF BALTIC REPUBLICS IN USSR ECONOMY DISCUSSED

Moscow EKONOMICHESKIYE NAUKI in Russian No 6, Jun 80 pp 3-13

[Article by P. Gulyan, corresponding member of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences (Riga), K. Meshkauskas, member of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences (Vil'nyus), and V. Saarmisto, corresponding member of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences (Tallinn): "Baltic Republics in the USSR's National Economic Complex"]

[Text] On the eve of an important historic boundary--the 40th anniversary of the restoration of Soviet power in our Baltic republics--a comprehension of the path trodden in these years acquires particular importance. And it is not only a matter of evaluating the past here but also of better understanding and better accomplishing the tasks of the present and future.

Tremendous changes have occurred in the past 40 years in the national economy of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia which in scale, depth and significance have marked the onset of a new era. This is the era of the conclusion of the prehistory and start of the true history of the development of the peoples of the Soviet Baltic--the era of socialism.

Prior to the Great October Socialist Revolution, the present Baltic Soviet republics were a component of the Russian Empire. The levels of their economic development differed. Latvia and Estonia were comparatively highly developed regions of Tsarist Russia. Latvia had 3.8 percent of all Russia's industrial workers in 1913, for example, while its population constituted only 1.6 percent of Russia's total population. Consequently, employment of the population in industry here was 2.4 times higher than the average for the country. This indicator was higher than the Russian average indicator in Estonia also. But in Lithuania industry enjoyed no significant development, and it remained an agrarian region on the whole.

Nor did significant changes in the region's economy occur with the formation in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia of bourgeois states. The economy developed slowly, and the position of the working people's masses remained difficult. Throughout the 20 years of its existence bourgeois Latvia failed to achieve even the 1913 level in the manufacture of industrial products. A similar

estimates evolved in Estonia, and here in 1939 the volume of industrial production was lower than in 1913. Only bourgeois Lithuania succeeded in surpassing the indicators of the manufacture of industrial products--by a factor of 2.6 in 1940. It should be considered, however, that, as already mentioned, the initial level here was extremely low. It is also important to note something else: in the republics which had by that time become a part of the Soviet Union the industrial production growth rate was three times that of Lithuania, which was developing its industry at a far more rapid rate than Latvia and Estonia.

As a result of the 20-year domination of the nationalist bourgeoisie and the subordination of the economy of the Baltic states to the interests of the leading imperialist countries the pace of this region's industrial development was, as a whole, considerably slower than prior to the Great October Socialist Revolution, that is, when this region was a part of Tsarist Russia.

Under the conditions of bourgeois power the Baltic republics became agrarian--material appendages of the imperialist states. The principal sector of the economy was agriculture, and the main attention was devoted to its development. As a result of the policy of agrarian protectionism, which was aimed chiefly at supporting the kulak farms, a certain growth in agricultural production was achieved. For example, it increased by a factor of 1.4 in the period 1913 through 1940 in Lithuania, 1.8 in Latvia and 1.5 in Estonia. This could not, naturally, change the overall picture of growing economic lag.

There was a radical transformation of the situation with the restoration of Soviet power. Throughout the very first year following this celebrated historical event in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia notable successes were achieved in the development of the production forces. Measures were adopted to put inoperative enterprises back in order. The production volume grew at all enterprises. Thus even in 1940 in Estonia the manufacture of industrial products was 1.3 times greater than the 1913 level, which had proved unattainable throughout the 20 years of bourgeois domination.

Hitlerite Germany's impious attack on the Soviet Union interrupted this constructive process. Enormous damage was done to the economy of the Baltic republics during the fascist occupation. The economy of the Baltic republics was restored under the conditions of the socialist planned economy and the mutual assistance of all the union republics. The prewar industrial production level was achieved in the shortest time: in 1948 in the Lithuanian SSR, in 1947 in the Latvian SSR and in 1946 in the Estonian SSR.

Since the war paramount significance has been attached together with restoration and socialist reconstruction to determination of the specialization of the economy of the Baltic republics in the all-union division of labor. Account was taken in planned fashion at the time of the settlement of these questions in accordance with the principles of socialism of the geographical conditions and natural resources of each republic and also of the working

people's accumulated production experience. This comprehensive consideration is insuring the best use of the republics' production potential for the purpose of securing the growing well-being of the working people both of the said republics and of the entire multinational socialist state.

The Baltic republics' geographical position has contributed to the development here of the sectors primarily connected with the use of their coastal position. This development has proceeded in three directions.

The first is the expansion of ocean fishing and fish-processing industry and the enterprises serving this sector. Whereas formerly fish were mainly caught in the Baltic's coastal zone, in the years of Soviet power the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian fishermen rapidly extended the range of their activity and began to fish in many regions of the Atlantic. The Baltic republics' share of the all-union fish catch increased systematically, and the fish industry became a specialized sector of the Soviet Baltic republics' economy. In its technical level and the fishermen's work conditions the fish industry has now taken great strides forward compared with the bourgeois period.

The second is the development of maritime transport and the catering for a considerable proportion of the shipments of the country's foreign trade cargoes. The seaports of Klaipeda, Riga, Ventspils and Tallin have been fundamentally modernized and expanded; the specialization of these ports has been clearly determined. Instead of the former low-tonnage and dilapidated ships, the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian sailors currently have modern ships of a general-purpose and specialized type at their disposal. The freight turnover of the republics' maritime transport is growing rapidly. For example, it had increased by a factor of 25 for the Latvian Maritime Shipping Company in 1978 compared with 1960 and ninefold in the Estonian SSR.¹

The third direction of the development of the economy based on the coastal position is connected with the creation of a center for the recreation of the working people both of the Baltic and of other republics and with the commissioning of sanatoria and rest homes in the coastal zone and the provision of climatological and other treatment. The sanatoria and health resort facilities, which are based on the use of the propitious factors of the sea shore and also sources of mineral waters and mud, have been developed considerably in the years of Soviet power.

Determination of the paths of economic development should also be oriented toward such an important element of natural wealth as minerals. The latter are of local significance in Lithuania and Latvia and are used mainly for the production of construction materials. Only in the Estonian SSR have we discovered, together with minerals of local significance, deposits of oil shale and phosphorites. This served as the basis for the creation in the Estonian SSR of large-scale heat and power stations of interrepublic significance and the production of individual types of chemical industry product. The extraction of oil shale increased by a factor of 16.4 and

electric power generation by a factor of 102 in 1979 compared with 1940.² The production of phosphate fertiliser has been organized on the basis of the phosphorite raw material.

Local forest resources were of definite significance for industrial growth during the first postwar 5-year plans. They were used for the production of lumber, plywood, pulp, furniture and other products. Some of the prepared timber was supplied to other republics. But as the sectors using timber raw materials grew, the local resources were no longer able to provide for the Baltic republic economy's timber requirements. Currently a considerable proportion of the timber raw material is imported from other regions of the country.

A certain development of industry here was also connected with an increase in the resources of agricultural raw material and an increase in the proportion of agricultural products used for industrial processing. Modern meat-packing plants, milk-processing plants and certain other enterprises were created on the basis of local agricultural raw material.

The industrial sectors working on local raw material or based on utilization of the particular features of the geographical position were of considerable significance for the formation of the national economic complex in the Baltic republics. Nevertheless, a minority of industrial-production personnel is employed in these sectors. For example, these sectors' share of industrial workers amounted to approximately only 30 percent in 1975 in the Latvian SSR and Lithuanian SSR.

Machine-building and metal-working and chemical and light industry enterprises are the basis of the industry of the Baltic republics; more than 60 percent of industrial workers work here in each republic.³

As is known, the level of development of machine building and metal working and also of chemical industry and electric power engineering plays a determining part in technical progress in the country's economy, in connection with which great attention has always been paid to them. The practical implementation of this course of the Communist Party and Soviet Government is also clearly to be seen in the example of the Baltic Soviet republics. Machine building and metal working here are developing at a very rapid rate, which was manifested particularly in the first postwar 5-year plans, when there was a fundamental reorganization of the republics' economy on the basis of the principles of socialist development. Thus the average annual volume of output produced by this sector increased by a factor of 6.5 in the Lithuanian SSR, 11.6 in the Latvian SSR and 6.2 in the Estonian SSR in the Fourth Five-Year Plan compared with 1940.

Machine-building enterprises which had operated previously were restored, their specialization was determined and their tooling was improved with highly productive equipment in the first years after the war. This made

it possible to sharply increase the manufacture of machine-building products. We should highlight among these enterprises the Sanitary Engineering Products Plant imeni Yu. Golyzenbergis, the "Prekalas" Specialized Machine-Tool Plant, the "Neris" Agricultural Machinery Plant and others in the Lithuanian SSR. The following plants which had existed previously rapidly increased production in the Latvian SSR: the Valsts Electrical Engineering Factory, the Radio Plant imeni A. S. Popov, the Riga Car-Building Plant, the "Sarkana svaygze" Motorcycle Plant and others. The following modern large-scale machine-building enterprises were created in the Estonian SSR on the basis of enterprises which had operated earlier: the "Vol'ta" Electrical Machine-Building Plant, the Electrical Engineering Plant imeni M. I. Kalinin, the Electrical Engineering Plant imeni K. I. Pegel'man, the Vyrus Gas Analyzer Plant and the "Taileks," "Norma" and "Vasar" production associations.

The construction of new large-scale machine-building enterprises developed gradually in the Baltic republics, particularly in the Lithuanian SSR, where previously this sector had been less strongly developed than in Latvia and Estonia. Plants manufacturing metal-cutting machine tools and instruments, electric engines, electric meters, electronic adding machines, fuel apparatus, agricultural machinery, instruments and means of automation, television receivers, refrigerators and a number of other products whose production is based on the application of the most modern equipment and which requires highly skilled labor were built anew here. Enterprises for the production of diesel engines and diesel generators, electrical engineering equipment, agricultural machinery, minibuses, components for auto assembly and others were created anew in the Latvian SSR. Enterprises for the manufacture of heavy-duty rectifiers, semiconductor instruments, induction flowmeters, multibucket excavators and others were built in the Estonian SSR. All these instances clearly testify not merely to industry's expansion but also to its upsurge on a new, higher level corresponding to the requirements of the modern scientific-technical revolution and the process of the organic combination of its achievements with the socioeconomic advantages of socialist.

The Baltic's chemical industry developed feebly in the period of bourgeois power. Upon the restoration of Soviet power the enterprises which had operated earlier were modernized and specialized in the mass manufacture of a comparatively narrow list of products. But newly built modern enterprises form the basis of the Baltic republics' present-day chemical industry. Plants for the production of mineral fertilizers, chemical fibers, linoleum, various products from polymer materials and others have been created in the Lithuanian SSR. Enterprises producing chemical fiber, fiberglass, plastics, chemical-pharmaceutical preparations, chemical agents and various household chemical products have been set up in the Latvian SSR. The production of mineral fertilizers, synthetic detergents, nutrient yeasts, certain household chemical goods and plastics has been instituted in the Estonian SSR. There has been a considerable broadening of the assortment of products manufactured on the basis of shale processing.

This list of new production facilities and new enterprises could be continued. It embraces all spheres of industry. The production capacities created in the Baltic republics in the years of Soviet power constitute the basis of modern industry here. All industrial sectors of the Baltic republics have developed rapidly (see Table 1).

Table 1. Growth Rate of the Baltic Republics' Total Industrial Output per Sector in the Period 1940-1979 (1940 = 1)*

	USSR	Lithuanian SSR	Latvian SSR	Estonian SSR
All industry	21	57	43	46
Including:				
Electric power engineering	32	214	29	221**
Fuel industry	10	17	17	79**
Chemical and petrochemical industry	56	1,141**	531	41**
Machine building and metal working	68	1,130	547	200**
Timber, wood-processing and pulp and paper industry	6.6	15	9.7	23**
Construction materials industry	41		40	
Glass and porcelain-faience industry)	186)	116**
Light industry	6.7	43	18	59**
Food industry	6.5	20	12	35**

*Table compiled from material of the republic statistical yearbooks and reports of the central statistical administrations of the Lithuanian SSR, Latvian SSR and Estonian SSR on the results of fulfillment of the state plan of economic and social development in 1979.

**By 1945.

Production has grown most rapidly in the Baltic republics, as in the USSR as a whole, in machine building, metal working and chemical industry. The growth rate of the above sectors in these republics was determined at a level considerably higher than the union average, which made it possible to completely eliminate the lag inherited from the past. The rapid development of the above sectors also largely determined the increasing preferential rate of overall growth of the industry of the Baltic republics.

In the years of Soviet power Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia have become republics which export machinery, chemical goods and other industrial products. Such complex machine-building products as metal-cutting machine tools, electric locomotive cars, minibuses, diesel engines and diesel generators, electronic instruments, means of communication, electric engines and various electrical engineering products, excavators, oil equipment, agricultural machinery, domestic refrigerators and washing machines and television and radio receivers, among others, are supplied to other union republics and for export. Other nonfoodstuffs and also foodstuffs are also exported.

The Baltic republics are thus participating actively in the intra-union division of labor. At the same time they receive from other republics in accordance with this division of labor industrial raw materials and various goods, industrial, agricultural, transport and construction equipment and certain consumer goods. Our country's fraternal republics have rendered inestimable assistance in the restoration of the economy and in the construction in the Baltic of new enterprises, power stations and gas mains. Joint plans of the specialization of individual enterprises are being implemented for the purpose of increasing production efficiency and insuring the rational use of natural resources in the Baltic republics. Certain steps in this direction have been taken in the production of individual consumer goods, but this cooperation has been manifested most strikingly in the generation and use of electric power, particularly that generated by GES. The most powerful GES in this region have been built on the River Daugava in the Latvian SSR. In 1978 the GES in the Latvian SSR accounted for 70 percent of power generation. The proportion is considerably less in the Lithuanian SSR, while the Estonian SSR generates no electric power. At the same time the capacity of the Latvian SSR's TETs is negligible, and the electric power generated here is insufficient for satisfying the republic's requirements (see Table 2).

Table 2. Power Balance of the Baltic Republics' Economy in 1978*

Union republic	Electric power, millions of kilowatt-hours			
	Generated	Obtained from other republics	Consumed	Released outside of the republic
Lithuanian SSR	11,212.8	3,891.8	10,584.8	4,519.8
Latvian SSR	4,747	5,737	7,752	2,732
Estonian SSR	19,098.2	266.3	7,663	11,701.5
Total	35,058	9,895.1	25,999.8	18,953.3

*Table compiled from "Narodnoye khozyaystvo Litovskoy SSR v 1978 g." p 75 [Lithuanian SSR National Economy in 1978], "Narodnoye khozyaystvo Latviyskoy SSR v 1978 g." p 54 [Latvian SSR National Economy in 1978] and "Narodnoye khozyaystvo Estonskoy SSR v 1978 g." p 42 [Estonian SSR National Economy in 1978].

The joint use of hydropower resources is making it possible to considerably reduce overall expenditure on the generation of electric power essential to the region's economy.

An important socioeconomic result of the Baltic republics' development in the years of Soviet power is their conversion from agrarian into industrially developed complexes with a relatively high level of agriculture.

Under bourgeois power the bulk of the population of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia was employed in agriculture and forestry. Since the restoration of Soviet power, as a result of the industrialization of the entire economy and the socialist reconstruction of agriculture, the proportion of the latter in the overall population employment structure has decreased by a factor of 3.1 in the Lithuanian SSR, 3.8 in the Latvian SSR and 3.6 in the Estonian SSR. At the same time the proportion of those employed in industry and construction has risen by factors of 4.4, 2.5 and 2.7 respectively.

The socialist industrialization of the economy engendered the need and created the prerequisites for a rapid increase in the level of people's culture, the development of science, the expansion of medical assistance to the population and the solution of other social problems. For this reason there has been a rapid increase in the number of workers employed in these sectors, and their proportion of those employed in the national economy has grown under the conditions of Soviet power by a factor of 7.5 in the Lithuanian SSR, 5 in the Latvian SSR and 7.8 in the Estonian SSR.

The changes in the distribution of those employed in industry also testify to the profound progressive changes in the economy and social structure of the Baltic republics. More than one-third of industrial workers in the Lithuanian and Latvian SSR's and approximately 26 percent in the Estonian SSR are currently employed in machine building and metal working. Some 41 percent of industrial workers were employed in the sectors determining technical progress as a whole in the Lithuanian and Latvian SSR's in 1975. In 1940 these sectors accounted for approximately only 19 percent of industrial workers in Latvia, which had the greatest industrial development.⁴

A most important result of development in the period of Soviet power in all the republics of the Soviet Baltic is the creation of large-scale enterprises wherein production is based on the use of modern technology. These changes have affected all sectors of the economy.

The all-union division of labor among the Soviet republics consisting of the country's unified national economic complex serves as the basis for the creation of large-scale enterprises in industry. This has made it possible to specialize the industry of individual republics in the manufacture of a comparatively short list of products. The goal being pursued here is that of the creation of enterprises of optimum size for the scale of production in order to satisfy the country's need for specific products with the minimum expenditure. The implementation of this approach has led to radical changes in production concentration. To appreciate these changes it should be borne in mind that small-scale handicraft and semi-artisan enterprises predominated here in the period of the dictatorship of the nationalist bourgeoisie. For example, in Latvia in that period the average number of workers per industrial enterprise was approximately 20. In that period there were only six enterprises with 1,000 and more workers, and these employed approximately 10 percent of bourgeois Latvia's industrial workers. At the end of the Ninth Five-Year Plan the proportion of Soviet

Latvia's industrial enterprises numbering 1,000 and more workers was 56.9 percent.⁵ Such enterprises in the Lithuanian SSR and the Estonian SSR employed 65.9 percent and 62.3 percent respectively of industrial-production personnel.⁶

The process of production concentration in agriculture is closely connected with the socialist reconstruction of this sector, which was completed at the start of the 1950's. Agricultural enterprises were further consolidated in subsequent years in line with the improvement in the means of production and management methods. Large-scale enterprises furnished with modern equipment now operate in the agriculture of the Baltic republics (see Table 3).

A factor contributing to the development of agricultural production in the Baltic is the favorable natural conditions for animal husbandry, particularly dairy livestock raising and hog raising for bacon. Taking these advantages as a basis, the Baltic republics' agriculture has specialized in the years of Soviet power in the all-union division of labor in the production of animal husbandry products chiefly in milk and meat. The expediency of this specialization is connected with the fact that the prime costs of the production of these products are lower here than the USSR average. For example, they constituted (as a percentage of the average for the country) for milk on the kolkhozes in 1977 80 percent in the Lithuanian SSR, 91 in the Latvian SSR and 88 percent in the Estonian SSR. The same indicator for the weight gain of young animals and the weight gain of cattle during fattening constituted 91 percent in the Lithuanian SSR, 89 percent in the Latvian SSR and 79 percent in the Estonian SSR, and the percentages with respect to the weight gain for hogs were 99, 89 and 75 respectively.⁷ The prime costs of eggs in these republics are also considerably lower than the union average.

Table 3. Number and Basic Indicators of the Size of Agricultural Enterprises in the Baltic Republics*

Republic	Year	No of enterprises	Public sowings, hectares	Per enterprise							
				Cattle, head	Cows, head	Hogs, head	Tractors, tors	Grain harvest-	Trucks	Combines	
<i>Kolkhozes</i>											
Lithuanian SSR	1960	1,529	1,016	396	178	383	10	1.7	6		
	1978	786	1,871	1,407	475	1,814	38	8.9	18.6		
Latvian SSR	1960	1,105	952	404	205	413	6	1.0	4		
	1978	336	2,523	1,778	663	1,914	50	10.7	24.1		
Estonian SSR	1960	648	702	307	177	350	6.5	1.5	9.7		
	1978	143	2,902	2,292	843	2,775	58.1	10.8	28.7		

[Table continued]

Republic	Year	No of enterprises	Public sowings, hectares	Cattle, head	Cows, head	Hogs, head	Tractor	Grain harvesting combines	Trucks
Sovkhozes									
Lithuanian SSR	1960	316	1,651	819	363	776	26	3.3	12
	1978	327	2,010	1,398	488	1,413	42	9.3	20
Latvian SSR									
Latvian SSR	1960	162	1,951	1,031	423	1,179	21	3.0	12
	1978	243	2,862	1,965	731	2,342	56	11.9	23
Estonian SSR									
Estonian SSR	1960	144	1,466	815	367	1,199	18.8	3.6	11.6
	1978	158	3,099	2,377	887	3,162	61.8	11.2	30.4

*Table compiled from material of the statistical yearbooks of the Lithuanian SSR, Latvian SSR and Estonian SSR.

The production of products in all the Baltic republics, as in the USSR as a whole, is growing more rapidly in animal husbandry than in plant growing. In 1978 the Lithuanian SSR produced 3.6 times more meat than in 1960, the Latvian SSR 2.2 times more and the Estonian SSR 2.6 times more. Milk production increased 103, 13 and 48 percent respectively, and eggs by a factor of 5, 4.3 and 3.6 respectively.⁸ Average per capita production of meat, milk and eggs in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia is considerably above the union-average indicator, and a certain proportion of these products is supplied to other republics.

At the same time the Baltic republics receive considerable resources from other regions of the country for the production of agricultural products, particularly in animal husbandry. The republics receive mineral fertilizers or the raw material for their production, fuel, tractors and agricultural machinery, some of the concentrated feed used for livestock fodder and so forth. The receipt of these resources is a fundamental factor of the increase in the production of animal husbandry products.

A most important economic and social result of the development of the Baltic republics' economy is the mechanization of production, on whose basis the extensive use of modern equipment and techniques is based. This process can be clearly discerned in all sectors of the economy; it can be seen most clearly in industry (see Table 4).

Table 4. Installed Mechanized Flow and Transfer Lines in the Baltic Republics' Industry (as of 1 July)*

Republic	Mechanized flow line		Transfer machinery	
	1965	1977	1965	1977
Lithuanian SSR	691	2,360	64	349
Latvian SSR	1,050	2,261	88	400
Estonian SSR	595	1,207	45	157

*Table compiled from material of the statistical yearbooks of the Lithuanian SSR, Latvian SSR and Estonian SSR.

As can be seen from the above table, in 12 years the number of mechanized flow lines increased by a factor of 3.4 in the Lithuanian SSR, 2.2 in the Latvian SSR and 2 in the Estonian SSR. Transfer machinery increased even more rapidly: by factors of 5.5, 4.5 and 3.5 respectively.

The mechanization of production on the basis of the introduction of mechanized flow lines and transfer machinery in the industry of the Baltic republics began only in the years of Soviet power. In the bourgeois period there was no transfer machinery at all, and mechanized flow lines were a rare exception. For example, only one mechanized flow line operated in the industry of bourgeois Latvia: at the Valsts Electrical Engineering Plant for assembling radio receivers.

It should be mentioned that the suffusion of the industry of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia with mechanized flow lines and transfer machinery is somewhat greater than the USSR average. Thus in 1975 the relative significance of these republics in the USSR with respect to mechanized flow lines exceeded their relative significance with respect to the numbers of industrial-production personnel by a factor of 1.4 in the Lithuanian SSR, 1.5 in the Latvian SSR and 1.4 in the Estonian SSR; the like factors for transfer machinery were 1.3, 1.6 and 1.2 respectively. This circumstance is caused to a considerable extent by the difference in the structure of industrial production in the Baltic compared with the average union structure, primarily by the high proportion of processing industry sectors. With every succeeding year mechanical engines will assume an ever larger share of power input, and there is a constant increase in the power-worker ratio, particularly the electric power-worker ratio. In the period 1965 through 1978 the growth of the electric power-worker ratio constituted a factor of 1.7 for the USSR as a whole, 2.2 in the Lithuanian SSR, 1.8 in the Latvian SSR and 2 in the Estonian SSR.

There has been an appreciable change in the Baltic republics' agriculture in the level of its provision with equipment and, at the same time, in the techniques of the production process. In the period of bourgeois power agricultural production was based mainly on nonmechanized implements. Only the threshing of the cereals was undertaken with the aid of a mechanical engine and a complex threshing machine. This situation prevailed to a considerable extent until the start of the socialist reconstruction of agriculture.

Currently all work in the Baltic republics on the basic and presowing till-ing of the soil, the application of organic and mineral fertilizers, the sowing of grain and industrial crops and the harvesting of the grain and silage crops is fully mechanized. The mechanization of work on the sowing and planting of vegetables, the harvesting of sugar beet and potatoes, handling operations and others is close to completion. The mechanization of the milking of cows--one of the most laborious operations in this sector--has been completed in animal husbandry. The level of the mechanization

of operations in fodder distribution and manure collection is rising systematically. Completion of the mechanization of these operations is closely connected with the construction of animal husbandry complexes and the concentration of the livestock therein.

The mechanization and electrification of agricultural labor became possible in line with the growth of agriculture's power resources and its provision with modern mechanisms. In 1978 this sector's power capacities were 27 times greater than in the prewar period in the Lithuanian SSR, 22 times in the Latvian SSR and 17.4 times in the Estonian SSR. There has been an appreciable change in the structure of the sector's power resources. Work stock were the principal resource in the pre-Soviet period. The proportion of mechanical engines was 20.2 percent in Lithuania and 22 percent in Latvia, and only in Estonia did they account for 55 percent. Currently the proportion of mechanical engines in all three republics is over 99.5 percent.

Agriculture's power capacities have increased particularly appreciably in the Ninth and 10th five-year plans (see Table 5).

Table 5. The Power-Worker Ratio of the Baltic Republics' Kolkhozes and Sovkhozes and Their Provision With Power Capacities (horsepower)*

	Per Worker				Per 100 Hectares of Sown Area			
	1965	1970	1975	1978	1965	1970	1975	1978
USSR	7.7	11.2	16.8	21.3	100	148	190	236
Lithuanian SSR	7.0	12.5	21.7	30.	140	263	369	479
Latvian SSR	8.0	15.6	24.5	31.9	158	251	354	420
Estonian SSR	11.3	19.7	32.7	43.5	200	298	382	464

*Table compiled from material of the statistical yearbooks of the USSR, Lithuanian SSR, Latvian SSR and Estonian SSR.

The higher provision of the Baltic republics' agriculture with power resources than the union average is connected with two factors. First, agriculture here has been specialized in the production of animal husbandry products, which requires greater power expenditure than plant growing. Second, the number of workers employed in agriculture per R1 million of gross output is considerably lower in this region than the union average. The differences among the Baltic republics also are explained to a certain extent by the dissimilar quantitative value of this factor.

The increase in the extent of the economy's provision with equipment and the equipment-worker ratio has served as the basis for an increase in labor productivity. Thus in the years of Soviet power (1940-1978) labor productivity in industry has increased by a factor of 6.3 in the Lithuanian SSR, 11.6 in the Latvian SSR and 13.6 in the Estonian SSR.

A considerable increase in labor productivity in agriculture was achieved in the Eighth-Ninth five-year plans. Labor productivity on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes in 1978 surpassed the 1965 level by a factor of 2.4 in the Lithuanian SSR. Labor productivity growth in the material production sectors insured an increase in social labor productivity. For example, it was 9.1 times higher in the Latvian SSR in 1978 than in 1940.⁹

The Baltic republics are currently distinguished by a high level of development of the industrial sectors. It is essential to take this into consideration in determining the paths and pace of further growth. A singularity of the economy of these republics is the high level of the population's employment in social production, primarily in the industrial sectors. Together with the RSFSR the Baltic republics occupy first place among the union republics for proportional employment of the population in industry, construction and transport. Thus in 1975 some 212 persons were employed in the above sectors on average in the USSR per 1,000 inhabitants, including 134 in industry. Higher than the USSR average, these indicators were respectively 248 and 162 persons in the Estonian SSR, 247 and 160 in the RSFSR, 244 and 164 in the Latvian SSR and 215 and 139 in the Lithuanian SSR.¹⁰

The decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress determined the industrial production growth rate for the Baltic republics for the 10th Five-Year Plan at a level somewhat lower than the union average in consideration of the possibilities of the reinforcement of manpower resources. These possibilities are already practically exhausted for Latvia and Estonia. Calculations show that Lithuania is also approaching this position. For all three republics increased labor productivity is becoming the sole factor of production growth. An acceleration of labor productivity growth and, on this basis, an increase in the effectiveness of the social production growth rate is the central task of the further development of the economy of the Soviet Baltic republics.

FOOTNOTES

1. See "The Latvian SSR National Economy in 1978," Riga, 1979, p 119 and "The Estonian SSR National Economy in 1978," Tallin, 1979, p 145.
2. See "The Estonian SSR National Economy in 1978," pp 77, 78 and "Estonian SSR Central Statistical Administration Report on Fulfillment of the State Plan of Economic and Social Development of the Estonian SSR in 1979."
3. See "Ekonomika i kul'tura Litovskoy SSR v 1977" [Lithuanian SSR Economy and Culture in 1977], Vil'nyus, 1978, p 72 and "The Latvian SSR National Economy in 1975," Riga, 1976, p 92.
4. See "Lithuanian SSR Economy and Culture in 1977," p 72 and "Latvian SSR National Economy in 1975," p 102.
5. See "Latvian SSR National Economy in 1975," p 113.

6. See "Lithuanian SSR Economy and Culture in 1975," Vil'nyus, 1976, p 86 and "Estonian SSR National Economy in 1977," Tallin, 1978, p 58.
7. See "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1977" [USSR National Economy in 1977], Moscow, 1978, p 275.
8. See "USSR National Economy in 1978," Moscow, 1979, pp 250-251.
9. See "Latvian SSR National Economy in 1978," p 14.
10. See "USSR National Economy in 1975," Moscow, 1976, p 536.

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EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF WORKERS IN KAZAKHSTAN

Alma-Ata NARODNOYE KHOZYAYSTVO KAZAKHSTANA in Russian No 2, Feb 80 pp 56-59

Article by L. Bayzakova, Junior Scientific Worker of the Institute of Economics of the Kazakhstan SSR Academy of Sciences: "Personnel: Modern Production and Education"7

Text7 Scientific-technical progress not only transforms the methods of labor, but it opens up enormous possibilities for raising the efficiency of production. The 25th CPSU Congress pointed out that to make this main task of the five-year plan a reality it is necessary "to accomplish the further development of the system of national education in accordance with the requirements of scientific-technical progress and the tasks of the steady raising of the cultural-technical and educational level of the workers and improving training of skilled workers and specialists.

From year to year there is an increase in the efforts to adopt new equipment; and the production of new, more improved kinds of product is being developed at a speeded-up pace.

Following the 25th CPSU Congress at plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and in the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers concerning the improvement of the economic mechanism, questions of speeding up the use of scientific and technical discoveries and designs, which were intended to raise the growth rates of labor productivity and the quality of product, were stated with particular sharpness. In these conditions raising the level of educational and professional training of the population is especially pressing.

It must be emphasized that education and scientific-technical progress are concepts that are interconnected and conditional upon each other.

V.I. Lenin spoke repeatedly of the interconnection between production and education, calling them processes that are conditional upon each other: "...neither learning and education without productive labor nor productive labor without parallel learning and education could have been raised to the height required by the present-day level of technology and the status of scientific knowledge."

In carrying out the instructions of Lenin, the decisions of the Party and government, the USSR, including the Kazakh SSR, have achieved serious qualitative improvements in the level of training of personnel; their level of training corresponds to the needs and level of development of technology and the needs of the national economy. The problems of the education and training of skilled workers have become the concern of the national government. Because of this there have been significant changes in the development of the primary production force. And it is precisely the structure of personnel that has changed. There has been a sharp increase in those who have a high school and higher education. Whereas, for example, in 1959 433 out of 1,000 workers had a higher and high school (complete and incomplete) education, in 1977 this figure was 780 out of 1,000. Among workers this figure was 396 and 732, respectively; for kolkhoz workers it was 226 and 562. At present 75.2 percent of workers have a higher and high school (complete and incomplete) education. In the Kazakh SSR for 1,000 men employed in production, the number of those having a high school education increased 1.7-fold in 1976 as compared with 1970.

The changes taking place in the educational structure of personnel are directly reflected in the development of the economy. Data concerning the significant increase in the amounts of national income through raising the skill level of workers are cited in economic literature.

As we see, the economic potential depends upon the amount and quality of the training of workers. At the present stage of development of equipment, technology and organization of production universal educational training is becoming more and more an organic part of the skill level of workers. As the foundation of skill level, universal education makes it possible for workers to more rapidly adapt to constantly changing conditions of production. Available data show that the average annual growth in the skill level of workers having a completed high school education is 1.3-fold greater than for workers having a seventh through ninth grade education; for workers having a fifth through sixth grade education the skill level is 2.25-fold greater. An eighth through tenth grade education provides an 81.4 percent growth rate; and there is

2.3 percent growth for those having a tenth grade education. According to estimates of Academician S. G. Strumilin, a year of schooling makes it possible to raise skill-level by approximately 1.6-fold more than a year of on-the-job experience.

The changes being undergone by the skill-level of the work force point to the growth of the percentage of labor resources of workers employed in more skilled labor.

For example, in the period since 1962 through 1972 with a 1.6-fold increase in the number of workers, the number of of-fice workers and their assistants has increased 3-fold, adjusters and tuners of equipment and machine tools have increased 2.2-fold, and electricians and electrical fitters have increased 2.3-fold. Big changes have taken place in the professional skill structure of agricultural workers. Within 10 years - from 1962 through 1972 - the percentage of those engaged in skilled labor increased from 27.9 to 36.3 percent.

The increase in the percentage of skilled labor attests to the fact that in a worker's cumulative labor there is an increased emphasis on brainwork; for some professions 97 percent of the work involves brainwork. This tendency is particularly evident in those sectors of industry where mechanization and automation of production are being accomplished at speeded-up rates.

But even with partial automation in a worker's cumulative labor, there are many functions connected with brainwork. For example, a photo-time-study of a work day at the Chirkent Lead Plant showed that for senior agglomerate workers, who have a 3 or 6 category, work time amounted to 72.6 percent, of which 10.2 percent went for calculating production, 16.3 percent for analytic reckoning, 26.2 percent for performing a technological process, 33.7 percent for monitoring the course of the production process, and 7.3 percent for preparing the working space. Functions connected directly with brainwork amounted to 67.2 percent (33.7 + 16.3 + 10.9). For furnace operators in the refining shop 62.6 to 90 percent of the functions involved brainwork. Skill grades are lower here.

Thus, the higher the skill grade of a worker the greater is the degree of brainwork in his cumulative labor. Since both high skill grades and length of service are determined by the level of education, the relationship of the intellectualization of labor and educational level is obvious. If one takes into consideration that, as a rule, workers who have a high overall educational level are assigned to the basic shops of the lead plant, then the interconnection between productive work time and non-productive work time is also apparent. Thus, whereas

agglomerate workers used 7.5 percent of their time to prepare their working place and 7.4 percent of their time for breaks; for furnace operators these percentages were 8.1 and 11.9 percent respectively.

This leads to the conclusion: since advancements are taking place in the professional and skill-level structure of workers, the basis of which is technical progress and the rise in educational level, the need arises to establish an educational qualification for the acquisition of this or that profession and for raising skill-level.

We believe that the time has come to specify in the job and wage rates classification manuals those professions that require a tenth grade education and to determine the mandatory minimum level of education for obtaining skill-level grades 3 through 6.

Incidentally, such a minimum has already been established at several enterprises in Kazakhstan. For example, only graduates of the general education schools are sent to work in the basic metallurgical shops of the Chinkent Lead Plant; and generally they hire only people with a high-school specialized education or even with higher education for jobs in the experimental shop. These measures, in our opinion, motivate the young people who still do not have an eighth grade education or a general high school education and who are not getting it in the school of working young people to continue their education.

Greatest attention must be devoted to the matter of achieving a high school education for workers in the age group up to 30 years old, i.e., that age group that must solve the most complicated problems being advanced by scientific-technical progress. This is proven by data concerning several Soviet industrial enterprises. At present 19 percent of young workers in the age group up to 30 years old have an eighth grade education; and more than 40 percent have a seventh through tenth grade education.

Our research also confirms this. At the Chinkent Lead Plant in 1970 34.5 percent of all young workers (up to 30 years old) did not have a high school education; while at the Chinkent Production Association for Forge and Press Equipment approximately 40.3 percent of all young workers (up to 30 years old) did not have a high school education.

A worker's education is not just the level of his knowledge; it is also the potential and actual basis of the efficiency of his labor. In the growth of the number of industrial and

agricultural workers having a high-school education V. I. Lenin saw one of the fundamental conditions for raising the productivity of public labor. According to data of Academician S. G. Strumilin, total literacy for one year of study raises a worker's efficiency by an average of 30 percent, while on-the-job training at the machine tool improves efficiency by 12 to 16 percent.

That total education is a most important factor for growth in labor productivity is shown in the following statistical data: tool-makers of the fourth category who have five years experience and an eighth grade education fulfill the shift assignment by 35 percent more than do workers of the same group who have only a fifth grade education, while workers who have completed their high school education have an output that is on the average 25 percent greater than those having an eighth grade education. According to our estimates, a year of schooling yields an increase in the output norm of the workers at the Chimkent Lead Plant of more than 50 percent.

A worker's labor and creative activity is directly related to the level of education. Thus, at the Chimkent Production Association for Forge and Press Equipment in the first six months of 1979 alone 330 innovative proposals were submitted that resulted in economic savings of 116,000 rubles. Of the total number of innovators - 320 - a large portion were persons having a high educational level: a completed high school education, a high school technical education and a higher education.

V. I. Lenin pointed out that the total educational preparation must precede scientific-technical progress. Experience has shown the correctness of Lenin's foresight. Total education is becoming a more necessary element in the reproduction of the work force, not only the necessary basis of special education but a key integral part of the professional training of workers.

It is precisely the influence of scientific-technical progress and the requirements of social progress in the educational structure of the population that has led to significant advances: whereas in 1939 108 out of 1,000 persons had a higher or high school education (complete and incomplete), in 1969 this figure was 361 and in 1976 it was 570, including those with a higher education as follows: 9, 23 and 56, respectively. In the Kazakh SSR in 1939 99 out of 1,000 persons working in the national economy had a higher and high school education (complete and incomplete); in 1959 (sic) the figure was 667 and in 1976 it was 770.

like other skill characteristics an education is not only a production indicator; it is also an important prerequisite for the spiritual development of the personality and a necessary element in the moral and esthetic enrichment and cultural growth of the personality.

The social value of education and its high economic efficiency determine the urgency of the task to eliminate the gap in the educational level of those already working and the new influx of workers from those graduating from the high schools. The problem is that we have quite a few young workers who have less than an eighth grade education.

We know how to solve this problem. We must attract young workers into the evening schools, the evening technical colleges and the institutions of higher learning; we must create the necessary moral and material incentives and conditions for raising the educational level.

Some idea of the reasons why many workers are not raising their educational level can be reached on the basis of a survey that we made among individual groups of workers at enterprises of the Republic. Thus, the most common reason was the reference to age (27 percent of those surveyed); just as many said that they were tired after work. Some gave such reasons as the "big break in schooling" and "the work I do does not require a lot of education" and so forth.

Without belittling the soundness of all these reasons, which could be overcome by creating the proper conditions, we shall note that one of the main reasons that working young people do not have a completed high school education, in our opinion, is that they can get a specialty on the job regardless of their educational background. On the one hand this opportunity causes young people to prematurely leave school for a job, while on the other hand in the process of work they find out how inadequately educated they are which leads to dissatisfaction with the job and increases the labor turnover. All of this cannot fail but be negatively reflected in all aspects of the production process.

Now, as a rule, the improvement of the qualitative indicators of labor resources is becoming a necessary condition for the solution of the many economic and social problems. Particularly when the balance of the work force is very strained, which is connected with the reduction in the natural growth of labor resources. In conditions of such a balance the balanced development of the economy and scientific-technical progress and the intensification of production require an every greater growth in labor productivity, which is possible both by improving equipment and by raising the skill level of workers.

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CRIMEAN TATAR JOURNAL INNECESSARILY USES TOO MANY RUSSIAN WORDS, CRITICS SAY
Tashkent LENIN RAYRAGI in Crimean Tatar 26 Jun 90 p 4

[Article by Riza Fazil and Rustem Aliyev: "Meeting on YILDIZ"]

[Text] The Uzbek SSR Union of Writers' Council on Crimean Tatar Literature recently met with the editorial board of the journal YILDIZ [Star]. Representatives of the newspaper LENIN RAYRAGI [Banner of Lenin], the editorial office of the Crimean Tatar literature section of the Chafur Ghulam Publishing House, the Tatar language and literature section of the Tashkent Pedagogical Institute, the editorial board of the Tatar desk of the Republic's radio broadcasting service, the "Qaytarma" ensemble, and others participated in this meeting. After previewing the materials to be included in the third issue of YILDIZ, the journal's chief editor, Shamil Aladin, reported on the magazine's current activities and tasks.

"Two issues of YILDIZ have now been published, and the third issue is scheduled to appear soon," the editor said. "Thus, we can report that YILDIZ, which appears bimonthly, has been alive and active for the past half year. Although these two issues alone are unquestionably an insufficient basis on which to speak authoritatively and with complete accuracy about the journal or to determine the true value of its activities, they nevertheless serve to illustrate the types of materials likely to be published in subsequent issues. When one considers that there was not a single article, sketch, story, novel, or anything at all in the editors' in-boxes when we began to prepare the first issue and that urgent measures had to be taken to acquire them quickly and work them up, I think that everyone will understand that initiating this task was far from easy. Now, however, the situation is different. The volume of new works arriving at the editorial office has improved suddenly.

"Great tasks lie before us. In this journal we must publish highminded and elevating works which instruct readers about the modern life and social activities of soviet man, critical reviews of new books, sketches, articles about the culture and revolutionary past of our people, popular oral literature, the economy of the republic, and measures for enriching the Crimean Tatar literary language. The journal's editorial office is endeavoring

with all the efforts to implement these tasks, but achieving them is not easy, and it is not possible to accomplish them fully within only half a year. The editorial office of this journal requests the participants at this meeting to express their thoughts and constructive criticism of the journal. If participants make us aware of shortcomings they have noticed in the first two issues of YILDIZ, we shall endeavor to correct these deficiencies in future issues."

Also Ilyar Islyanov, editor of LENIN SAYRAGI, Yusuf Bolat, deputy editor of that newspaper, Ibrahim Pashi, a journalist, Mamet Umurov, candidate of philological sciences, and the writers Jevdet Ametov, Uriya Edenova, and Zulal Yalit spoke and expressed their opinions of the first two issues of YILDIZ. Jevdet Ametov objected to the use of certain words in the texts of articles published in the two issues of the journal. He noted that [the Russian word] "kandidat" not [the Tatar word] "nemzet" [candidate] was used by the journal; similarly, "doklad" not "maruz" [report], "zhurnal" not "nejmua" [journal], "stol" not "miza" [table], "khozyaystvo" not "tesarufat" [economy], "transport" not "naqliynt" [transportation], "inzhener" not "mudidin" [engineer], and "samolyet" not "tayyare" [airplane]. Words which traditionally have been used in our literary language should appear in the journal in their traditional forms, he commented.

The journalist Ibrahim Pashi noted that the language used in LENIN SAYRAGI differs from that used by YILDIZ and that they ought to be made to conform.

Our writer Yusuf Bolat also expressed thoughts on the issue of the language of the journal. He too commented that it is necessary to have more frequent recourse to the language of the people and to the wealth of the different dialects in order to enrich our literary language and broaden its resources. Other friends also seconded these thoughts. Additionally, Yu. Bolat spoke in passing about the disappearance from our modern alphabet of the letter "ñ", the cause of an obvious dissonance in many words, and the loss of meaning of these words. It was moved that this letter again be added to our alphabet.

The YILDIZ editorial workers listened with serious concern to the participants' thoughts and comments on the language of the journal. Subsequently, they passed appropriate resolutions declaring that they would strive to make the literary language of YILDIZ more comprehensible to the people, and to improve the quality of the journal.

Having informed our readers about the meeting on YILDIZ, we would like to add that if readers wish to make known their thoughts on the language and other aspects of the journal, they can send them in writing to the journal's editorial office (Ankent, Aleksey Tolstoy Street, no. 7).

YILDIZ
09/1 1987

SWEDISH PRESS INTERVIEWS WITH DISSIDENTS IN ESTONIA

Dissidents: Boycott Olympics

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 6 Jul 80 pp 1, 3

[Article by Moscow correspondent Staffan Teste]

(Text) On 20 July the Olympic sailing trials will open in Tallinn, the capital of the Soviet Republic of Estonia. On Friday the Cultural Ministry celebrated the 40th anniversary of the Soviet takeover of power and the dissolution of once independent Estonia.

There are still some dreamers left among opposition circles in Estonia in 1980 who believe they might once again become citizens of an independent state. Swedish yachtsmen are being asked to boycott the Olympics. But people on the streets of Tallinn said they were looking forward to the increased influx of tourists and expressed satisfaction that the old parts of the city were being cleaned up more quickly.

"Boycott the Olympic yachting trials in Tallinn," several opposition Estonians urged in a greeting to Swedish yachtsmen. Taking part in the sailing trials in Tallinn is like legalizing Soviet power, they felt.

Swedish neutrality is not popular in these circles. Sweden is one of the few lands officially recognizing the three Baltic states as part of the Soviet Union. The United States, for example, still regards this region as occupied territory.

"If you're neutral the Soviet Union can use you," was the view of those Estonians holding different opinions, the dissidents as they are sometimes called. "We are not opposed to sports," they said. "But the Olympics are different."

These Estonians ran a great risk when they revealed their thoughts so freely to DAGENS NYHETER. The list of those who have been arrested recently for their opinions or political actions is a long one. They gave us some examples from Estonia.

On 18 February 1980 Vello Soslat, Raivo Heemrik, Olev Tutsav and Villu Vilbi were arrested by the police. They are all schoolboys from the Technical High School in Tallinn.

That same day they had raised the old republican flag--it was the 60th anniversary of the formation of the Estonian Republic--among the ruins of an old church in the town of Tartu--once the cultural center of Estonia. It was in Tartu (called Dorpat in Sweden) that peace was concluded between an independent Estonia and the Soviet Union in 1920.

For some time rumors have been circulating that the four youths would be tried for their "crime against the flag."

On 11 March the police arrested scientist Juri Kukk of Tartu University.

Between 25 and 30 March Baptist Herbert Murd was arrested.

On 29 April Mart Niklas, a teacher in Tartu, was arrested.

The dissidents we met are working tirelessly to spread awareness of these people and their fate in Estonia.

Under Observation

Their main activity is typing out new copies of "Free Edition of Ideas and News in Estonia." They try to send these copies in various ways to the West in order to get them distributed to a broader public in Estonia via foreign radio stations broadcasting in Estonian.

These Estonians dream of greater freedom of thought in Estonia, multi-party elections and perhaps, in the distant future, an independent Estonia separated from the Soviet Union.

But many of them realize their struggle is hopeless and are trying desperately to emigrate to relatives and friends in other countries.

"The Soviet author Solzhenitsyn disseminated knowledge of the true situation through his books, demonstrating to our people that it is not so dangerous to be a dissident. At least not as dangerous as it was 20 years ago. More and more people are realizing this and joining the struggle," they said. The important thing is to give others the courage to do so.

The dissidents themselves are aware that their movement is under close observation. An English journalist who tried to get in touch with one of Estonia's more well-known members of the opposition unknowingly met a KGB man instead during a visit in Tallinn.

Contact Difficult

While the English journalist tried to discuss controversial problems the KGB man talked only about "safe" everyday problems. Finally the journalist, who is a correspondent in Moscow, tired of this and broke off the conversation. "We still don't know if he ever found out what happened," people in the opposition told DAGENS NYHETER.

Lines of contact between these few "open dissidents" in Estonia and foreign journalists are often complicated. Accredited foreign mass media correspondents live in Moscow and the Estonian opposition people seldom have an opportunity to get in touch with them. Guards keep an eye on the residential area where the correspondents live. There are no telephone books that can be purchased by the general public and the telephones are said to be tapped.

Even so it has been possible for the Estonian dissident movement to establish contacts and even cooperate with similar groups in Latvia and Lithuania. They have done such things as write joint letters to the Swedish Olympics Committee, urging a boycott of the Moscow Olympics.

As a security measure each link in the "chain" is acquainted with as few likeminded people as possible. There are various motives for participating in this activity. Some Estonians have returned after being deported to Siberia and others could tell of having lost a parent during the communist period.

Something Must Happen

"It is also a question of whether we want to live as poorly as we do in Estonia," they said. "Before World War II the living standard in Estonia was just below that of Finland. Today we are far below that."

"Officially we have no freedom but the Soviet system is weak. If there is a change in leadership it could lead to a small revolution."

"Something must happen. Wages have declined for many people in practice because of the poor development of Soviet industry. Official Soviet wages are always the same or increased by a few percentage points. But," these Estonians charged, "in addition to the official wage one often gets a bonus. When the industrial surplus declines the bonus declines also, reducing total wages."

"We know an industrial worker who had an official wage a few years ago of 170 rubles and an average bonus of 90 rubles, giving an average total of 260 rubles a month. In 1979 the average wage was down to 210 rubles a month and now in 1980 that person gets only 190 rubles a month. That is a reduction of 30 percent." (The average Soviet wage is usually

given officially as approximately 150 rubles a month. 1 ruble is equal to 7 Swedish kronor.)

Watered-down butter

"But it's not just the wages that are deteriorating. There were complaints about the butter when it was being mixed with 10 percent water. It was impossible to use it like that. They were forced to reduce the percentage of water to 20 percent.

"Sometimes there are shortages of milk and bread."

Estonia has big problems with electricity. The network is defective and sometimes the current is shut off, resulting in cold days. To prevent overburdening the electrical network there is a contingency plan in Parnu calling for the shutting off of power to certain factories, thus keeping usage below the maximum limit.

"Estonia is losing out on its cooperation with other areas of the Soviet Union," the dissidents said. While Estonia does not receive extra prices for the sale of its goods, wood, butter and meat, Estonians had to pay 8-9000 rubles for Russian cars. The cars actually cost only 2000 rubles to manufacture.

"There is a lot to do in Estonia," the dissidents said. They do not agree that Tallinn is getting something out of the Olympic arrangements. A lot of construction on schools, etc. was interrupted due to inadequate funds, they said and added:

"Estonians have helped pay for the games themselves through buying lottery tickets in 'Sport-Lotto.'"

Power Network Defective

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 6 Jul 80 pp 1, 3

[Text] "From 1975 to 1980 the Soviet government has given Tallinn 200 million kronor extra for Olympic construction," said chief architect Dmitri Bruns. "During these years the total cost of construction has been over 1 million rubles--about 7 billion Swedish kronor.

"Due to the location of the Olympic sailing matches in Tallinn the city and its inhabitants got many buildings we would otherwise have had to wait 5 years or longer for. This applies particularly to a new cultural center for 6000 spectators.

"One of the conditions on which Tallinn accepted the Olympic arrangements was that no planned construction of residences (which are in

short supply as they are in other parts of the Soviet Union), schools, daycare centers or other social buildings would be delayed.

"With few exceptions we have succeeded in our efforts with the help of construction workers from Finland, Lithuania, Latvia and the Russian cities of Minsk and Leningrad. The old sections of Tallinn have been restored by Polish restoration workers who have experience in doing this work in Poland."

It can be seen that chief architect Dmitri Bruns is satisfied with and proud of the results of the past 5 years. A great deal was completed before the Olympic sailing trials begin on 20 July.

Among other things the Olympic buildings were tried out a year before the games, an unusual event in the context of the Olympic Games. But a final spurt on construction of some buildings is under way. A new hotel in the middle of the city, the Olympia, was hit by site problems.

The result was that the final completion and furnishing of the hotel was turned over to Finnish workers. Otherwise the hotel would not have been ready in time for this Olympics.

Since the 800 beds in the hotel had already been rented out for the Olympics, this would not have looked good for the arrangers in Tallinn.

"We paid for the extra western exchange currency the Olympia cost on our own," said Dmitri Bruns who felt that it had been a good deal even so. There will be two internationally acceptable hotels in Tallinn in addition to the sports hotel at the Olympic site, Pirita, both built by Finnish labor. That is more than the Baltic lands of Latvia and Lithuania can boast of. There, half-completed skyscrapers in Riga and Vilnius reveal that hotel construction in the Soviet Union is never completed on schedule.

"We have never done so much as we have in this period. But now it looks as if we will be ready before the beginning of the Olympic sailing matches on 20 July, at least I hope so," said Dmitri Bruns, knocking three times on the wooden desk.

New Facilities

In connection with the Olympic year, the chief architect has written a book on the Olympic construction. In it he listed an impressive number of facilities built in Tallinn which will be at the disposal of the city's 450,000 inhabitants in the future.

There is the 800-bed Olympia Hotel.

There is a concert hall and cultural center for 6000 spectators. It can also be used for sports events, tennis and basketball, for example.

Finnish workers have built a new harbor terminal.

There is a new modern airport terminal where it is possible to board planes directly. The only facility like it is in Moscow, that one built by a German firm.

There is a TV tower 314 meters high with an observation platform and cafe at a height of 190 meters.

There is a new main post office three stories high, 60 by 60 meters.

A big new department store has been built in the city center.

There is the Pirita sailing center with the Olympic Village/Hotel, restaurant and cafe. The plan is to use this as a sports hotel after the Olympic trials are over.

There is a business and service center at Pirita (near the Olympic Village).

There is a new restaurant near the beach at Pirita, a seaside resort where Sweden and others spent their vacations in the 1930's.

And a new asphalt coastal highway runs from Tallinn to the Sailing Center.

Russian Tourists

Part of the city's facelifting before the Olympics included comprehensive restoration of the "Old City." After World War II 47 percent of the 1000-year-old city was said to be in ruins. Despite a massive rebuilding program there hasn't been enough time to restore the oldest sections of the city.

People on the streets of Tallinn are perhaps most happy about the restoration of the "Old City." Of course they are also looking forward to a big influx of "western tourists" for the sailing events.

They're quite used to Russian tourists. And 55 percent of the inhabitants of Tallinn are Estonians while 30 percent are Russians. Today the city is a favorite goal for Russian tourists. They come there in groups to be guided around the oldest parts of the city. There is no counterpart to Tallinn's Gothic architecture in the Soviet Union.

But most of the Russian tourists come there to live a little more freely, get good service in restaurants and buy goods they can't find in other places.

"Here I can go to a restaurant and order what I want. They also have good cotton clothes which I can't find in Moscow," said a Russian, explaining why she spent her vacations in Estonia year after year.

Western

Traveling from Moscow to Tallinn one senses that one is approaching the West. The street scenes are more western. In the "Old City" one can slip into a cafe, get immediate service and obtain a good cup of coffee, all of which are impossible in Moscow.

But Estonian inhabitants also talk about the city's drawbacks. In the big food stores the assortment is limited. People confirmed with a sigh that there really is a shortage of milk and even bread at times. They also told us that once in a while the electricity is shut off without warning.

Even so one sees more well-dressed and fashionable people in Tallinn than in Moscow. Young girls in particular dress as fashionably as possible.

Equality

Soviet equality of the sexes has also come farthest in Estonia. Women here are statistically better-educated than men, earn more and are more apt to ask for a divorce. They don't accept the usual lot of the Soviet woman who has a job and also manages the housekeeping and childcare singlehanded.

Instead they go to entertainments and enjoy meeting foreigners. Marriages between Estonians and foreigners are on the rise, increasing the possibilities for leaving the country although not everyone takes the opportunity to do so.

"But if you want to dress fashionably and be able to get into the dances at foreign hotels you have to have contacts," a girl in Tallinn sighed.

"Yes, a lot of good contacts," her companion added.

Sailors and the many foreign tourists in Tallinn, mostly Finns, seem to take care of the supply of goods to some extent.

But Finnish tourists have a very bad reputation here. An Intourist guide just sighed when she heard she had to take a Finnish group out.

Living Well

The Finnish tourists who come by direct boat from Finland live very well. Outside the Laiouflet hotel Viru there was an open exchange on the black market in the park, at a rate three or four times better than the official rate of exchange.

One can see intoxicated Finnish tourists sitting in hotel restaurants and slopping thick bundles of rubles on the table as if they were ordinary pieces of paper. In Finland people talk openly about black market exchange opportunities.

With these black market rubles Finnish tourists have no problem in filling the table with Russian "champagne" and vodka bottles. And many go in for drinking in a big way.

The black market in money is so open in Tallinn--people even run around in the hotel elevators with their black briefcases under their arms, offering to exchange money on the black market--that this appears to be accepted by the authorities.

That is one way of getting in more western currency and making it possible for Estonia's almost 1.5 million inhabitants to buy western products.

Oil Shale

But it is not just well-established western tourism that makes Estonia the country in the Baltic with the greatest possibility of managing as an independent nation.

There are substantial natural resources too. For many years--sometimes leading to strident environmental debates--the world's richest deposits of oil shale have been mined. A product that is beginning to interest Swedish business interests which are trying to arrange oil shale exports to Sweden. Authorities in Tallinn said that agreements had been drafted but that difficult transport problems remained to be solved.

People in Tallinn would like to forge economic ties with Sweden. And 48 percent of industrial production in Estonia comes from Tallinn. There one can find one of the two Soviet factories producing Pepsi-Cola under license and an extensive furniture industry.

Estonian furniture ought to be well-known in Sweden. There are 9000 people employed in the lumber industry and furniture is manufactured to the tune of 90 million rubles annually. Ten percent of the production is exported to four "capitalist" countries, the major part of it to Sweden. It is the Ikea furniture company that turns out Estonian furniture for Swedish households.

Increasing Number of Arrests

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 8 Jul 80 p 7

[Article by Osmo Vatanen]

[Text] The political climate has hardened in Soviet Estonia. One can read that in the home of Ants Kippar in Stockholm from his list of over 40 political prisoners in Estonia.

"In the last year alone 15 people were arrested there," said Kippar who heads the Estonian exile "Assistance Center for Imprisoned Freedom Fighters in Estonia."

The center tries to help prisoners with letters, packages and information to the western world about them. Amnesty International and a number of publications are automatically informed of every prisoner the center finds out about.

Later the prisoners are divided up among a number of organizations and a group takes charge of each prisoner, sending monthly packages and letters. Packages and letters are also sent to their dependents.

Kippar picked up an envelope from a plastic folder and showed us the stamp: "Return to Sender."

"It is worse than it was in the Stalin era. Since 1978 both letters and packages have been returned like this, though we know where the prisoners are. The Russian state takes almost half the money that is sent in taxes.

"Once we sent money to several prisoners in exile. The Russian bank confirmed that the money was paid out. Somewhat later we learned that a couple of the prisoners were dead.... I wonder how the bank paid the money to dead men. Actually we got some money back...."

Send Jeans

Now they prefer to send jeans to relatives. Despite a very high duty, there is a lot of money left over when the jeans are sold. It can be as much as several hundred kronor. The state pays around 900 kronor for a blue jeans costume. A typical monthly wage is around 800-1000 kronor.

"But letters and packages are important," said Kippar. "They indicate that the prisoners have not been forgotten. The KGB, the Soviet security police force, makes a note of all incoming mail."



Mart Niklus



Ants Kippar

Unrest Growing

The Assistance Center was set up in 1978, when the police began to come down hard on the dissident movement. If developments continue as they have so far Kippar will have a lot to do. Since 1973-74 unrest has grown substantially in Estonia.

For a long time things were calm in that country and during the thaw after Stalin's death many young Estonians joined the Communist Party

because they honestly believed in a liberal development. Many of them even dreamed of a socialist Estonia outside the Soviet Union, an idea Khrushchev himself considered before Hungary exploded in 1956. The final straw was reached for young people in 1968 when Czechoslovakia was invaded.

The Estonian Democratic Movement was started back in 1970 as was the Estonian National Front whose appeals reached the West in 1974. The leaders included Sergei Soldatov, now in Siberia until January 1981, and Mart Niklus, currently in the Tallinn central jail awaiting sentencing. Another dissident jailed recently is Juri Kukk. Niklus and four other Estonians signed two appeals this year: one protesting the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the other protesting the Olympic Games in Moscow and Tallinn. In 1979 Niklus and about 40 other people issued an appeal for independence for the Baltic states.

Pamphlets Sent By Balloon

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 8 Jul 80 p 7

[Text] Author, translator and journalist Alex Milits once managed to call up the Estonian dissident Mart Niklus in Tallinn and send a direct broadcast of an interview with him and several other dissidents over the local Estonian radio he is in charge of in Stockholm.

"Toward the end of the broadcast one of them picked up the phone and said, 'I won't give my name but I want you to recognize my voice if something happens to the others,'" Milits recalled.

He belongs to an organization called "Narodnoi Trudovoi Sojuz (NTS)," a Russian immigrant organization actively supporting resistance groups in the Soviet Union with money, equipment, literature, etc.

Many years ago Milits sent literature to the Soviet Union by air. The pamphlets were tied up and attached to a string impregnated with a substance that would make it burn at a given rate. Thus Milits could estimate accurately how long it would take for a length of string to burn. Then he fastened the bundles to balloons. Milits checked the weather, measuring the wind direction--and speed. Then he could figure out how long the string would have to be. It smouldered, burned and dropped a bundle over Tallinn, for example. Several bundles could hang in a strip with pieces of string adjusted to the distance between "bombing targets."

Today this isn't necessary. Smuggling is much easier.

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